

ROMANCE AND REALISM IN GYPSY STUDIES

[AUG 18 1975]

Ian F. Hancock

In an earlier monograph<sup>1</sup> I referred to the fascination which Gypsies and Gypsy-related affairs hold for non-Gypsies, students and laymen alike. In the case of the former, there are of course some fine and brilliant minds represented, individuals whose involvement is both sympathetic and scholarly; but it is not to this small group that the present paper refers.

In addition to these, as Richardson Wright noted in 1938<sup>2</sup>, there is a much more colorful group of "purely mental or sedentary *Raia* [i.e. non-Gypsy students of Gypsy-related matters] who read the findings of the higher caste and understand, or pretend to understand them, according to their lights". The brotherhood of *Raia* (a self-applied label; when used by Gypsies themselves it refers only to an authority figure — in American Vlach for example it means 'policeman') shades imperceptibly into another large group of devotees who have come by their knowledge not through the academic writings of scholars, much less from first-hand contact with Gypsies, but through literature and the popular news and entertainment media.

The gulf separating the popular image of the Gypsy and the Gypsy in real life is vast. What attracts such people to Gypsies in the first place, and what motivates them to continue to accept and foster an unreal image? While he has been taken to task for his point of view that "gypsies persist because they, or groups like them, are needed in our culture"<sup>3</sup>, Werner Cohn seems to have been trying to make this point in his book *The Gypsies* (Reading, Massachusetts, 1973, p. 61). In other words, there exists a need — one supposes in all cultures — for an escape for those individuals who either lack certain personality traits to function fully within their own society, or who have genuine grievances against them and opt out. Cohn's statement is misleading because he does not clarify it by saying that what attracts the "hippies, fanatics, etc."<sup>4</sup> is very rarely Gypsies themselves, but the imaginary popular image which the hippies and fanatics help to sustain.

Several authorities connected with Gypsy-related organizations have commented that the greater part of their "fantasy correspondence" from individuals attempting to make contact with Gypsies, is from single girls between the ages of 16 and 26. From an examination of 43 such letters received between 1969 and 1975 by three organizations, the Komitia Lumiaki Romani in the USA and Canada, the Romani School in Richmond, California, and the Institute of Contemporary Romani Research and Documentation in London, England, it was found that 37 were from young single women, 30 of whom claimed Romani ancestry; the remaining six were from men, two of whom claimed Romani forbears. These figures exclude the much larger selection of correspondence received at these offices from more formal sources.

This raises as a side-issue the question of what is a Gypsy — an important one since it bears directly upon the interpretations in the literature and the media, and how as a result the individuals under discussion here regard themselves. The attitude of Gypsies to such individuals is a further consideration, although one requiring noncontextual interpretation since while each Gypsy group knows what

a Gypsy is, the criteria for inclusion in that group may easily exclude members of other groups also regarding themselves as Gypsy. Since, as I summarise elsewhere<sup>5</sup>, Gypsies may have as many as three distinct historical origins, language and culture are perhaps better conditions than race for inclusion. Apart from the large European genetic admixture evident in many groups<sup>6</sup>, a Romani family continuum acknowledged by other members of the same group, the maintenance of a style of life based upon the traditions of that group, and an unbroken transference of the Romanés language from generation to generation, are the principal ideals for inclusion, from a Gypsy point of view. "Purity of blood" and means of livelihood, while also significant are less so, although they are the factors which appear to be of greatest importance to the *Raia*. There are exceptions to these: groups who speak some form of Romanés but who have abandoned many of the traditional beliefs and customs (such as the Johns and Palmers in Illinois), or who maintain parts of the culture but not the language (e.g. the Alabama-Mississippi Lodari). In addition there is the small number of persons of Romani ancestry who, although not brought up in the Gypsy manner for one reason or another decide to enter the ancestral culture. For those with close known relatives still living, absorption into Romani life is not necessarily difficult since blood ties are a very significant factor; though while this may be seen as a sensible move by the relatives receiving the individual, it may also cause dissention between that individual and his immediate family which chose to leave the old way of life behind<sup>7</sup>.

From the non-Gypsy point of view, and hence the main point of view being discussed here, a Gypsy may be many different things. The term, listed without a capital initial letter in most dictionaries, usually refers not to a member of a distinct ethnic group, but to a vagabond or roguish idler. For this reason representatives of Gypsy organizations are vociferous in trying to persuade publishers to capitalize the word when it refers to a distinct race of people, so that this distinction may be emphasized. The *Manchester Guardian*<sup>8</sup> and the *TV Guide*<sup>9</sup> have been among the first publications to agree to this. Since the word is a derivative of "Egyptian" it is odd that it hasn't always had an upper-case initial.

In Britain, the term is occupational rather than racial. Housedwelling Gypsies, such as the large communities in Battersea and elsewhere, are denied acknowledgement of their ethnic affiliation by the Government because they don't conform to the nomadic stereotype<sup>10</sup>. In the USA, Gypsies have been recognised as a discrete ethnic minority only since 1972<sup>11</sup>. At the Second World Romani Congress to be held in Spring, 1976, in Chandigarh, India, Romani leaders with the official backing of the government of India will petition the eastern European governments for recognition in those countries as a distinct nation. At present, anti-Romani prejudice in Europe is at a stage similar to the 19th century situation for American Blacks.

Those who write fantasy correspondence asserting their Romani ancestry may well be making legitimate claims, but in not one instance has such a person been able to provide support, in the form of a traceable name or clan affiliation, and to judge from the content of such correspondence, few have much idea of what Gypsy life entails. The following excerpts serve to illustrate this:

"...because I feel that I am a minority of one, and I know that I would be accepted by the gipseys".

"My hate for the gorgios makes me the more certain of my Romany blood".

"As a child I became mentally and emotionally aware of my Rom blood. Nothing can erase this awareness of having Rom blood. It is to me as inborn. Should you reply, do not reply to me either indirectly or directly [by] the term gajo".

"I feel my gypsy blood and although I never met my aunt I know I belong with the Romanies. How could I meet some?".

"There is a bit of the gypsy in me".

"...I mean real Gypsies, what I believe is called 'true bloods' and not a conglomerate that has crossed with other peoples and which I do not consider Gypsies. Can you - will you - help me?".

"In spite of the fact that I'm not from Romania, all the same I am partly gypsy...my grandmother was a beautiful gypsy".

"My father is Rom. We were Kale from Spain in the 1700's".

"...and maybe meet them by visiting a gypsy neighbourhood. I have a gypsy dress and scarf".

"I like to wear the kerchief around the kher but I am hesitant to wear it elsewhere such as a local grocery store for I do not as of yet feel that I am an accepted part of Romanestan".

"I don't speak any Calo although I do speak some Romani. My parents live among the gaje".

"I have an autoharp...I have always loved the Rom (also the 'drom', as I have traveled from Mexico to North Carolina and California...".

A professor of anthropology at a Los Angeles university tells of one student who halfway through a term began to identify herself very strongly with Gypsies. When she was questioned on one occasion as to why she hadn't turned in a particular term paper on time, she replied that 'we Gypsies are a secretive people and are not required to account for our actions'. When the professor patiently explained who and what Gypsies are, and why there was no way that she could legitimately call herself one, she broke down and cried.

Another young woman in Madison in 1974, dressed in stage-Gypsy costume with beads, bare feet and the headscarf usually worn only by married women, was able,

through one of the above-mentioned organizations, to get herself an introduction to the local Baro with the intention of being considered for marriage to one of his sons. When they saw her, she was immediately recognised as a *puyi* (i.e. one who seeks the company and copies the behavior of Gypsies, masc. *puyo*, plural *puyuria*, literally 'young animal') and as a result, although formal contact never developed she was pestered for some time after by several of the young men in the community who considered her to be a *karvanyaki rakli*, or 'easy' non-Gypsy girl.

Another in Palo Alto, California, claimed to have all non-Gypsies, although she had no Gypsy acquaintances and lived in a totally non-Gypsy milieu. This kind of behavior can only keep alive the parallel, untouched existence of the Gypsy dreamworld; its psychological motivation must be explained by others specializing in such matters.

Academia is little affected by this kind of dreamer, although its own inhabitants are no less susceptible to following the well-beaten path. Einar Haugen, who chaired the language planning session of the World Congress of Sociology in Toronto in 1974, at which this writer's monograph *Problems in the creation of a standard dialect of Romanian*<sup>12</sup> was first read, felt authorized to note in his commentary<sup>13</sup> on the session that "In Scandinavia...Romany is no longer a language of its own but is a pidginized form of the host language", despite the fact that the best description ever published of a fully-inflected dialect is Gjerdmann and Ljungberg's *The language of the Swedish Coppermith Gypsy Dimitri Taikon* (Uppsala, 1963). Haugen also states (*loc. cit.*) that "most Romany are more or less nomadic", despite the statement in the paper itself that "The majority of European Rom have in fact been sedentary for a long time"<sup>14</sup>, noted also by Thomas Acton (mentioned in footnote 75 of the same paper) who, on the very first page of his *Gypsy politics and social change* (London, 1974) also stated that "Only a minority of the world's Romani-speaking communities are nomadic today". The *Problems* paper refers to the harm done by non-Gypsies who set themselves up as spokesmen about Gypsies for other non-Gypsies, especially those who have no first-hand knowledge of the situation. Since all conference papers are presumably read thoroughly by their discussants, it may be that Haugen's statements represent an unconscious falling into line with the more attractive fictitious image, a prepossession to keep it alive resulting from conditioning centuries old.

The average non-Gypsy may not be able to say offhand where his notion of the Gypsy comes from; very few have actually knowingly encountered Gypsies, and many Americans are even skeptical of their existence in the United States. The press helps keep part of this image alive: despite showing two pictures, one inside and one out, of the Gypsy household it discusses, an article in the *Boston Phoenix* (April 8th, 1975) is nevertheless entitled "Hustle, hustle aboard the Caravan". Crystal balls, non-existent in the community concerned, are alluded to in the headline "Authorities gaze into gypsy's con game" (the *Austin American*, May 30th, 1975). A long-time resident of Montreal is made more appealing in the headline "Roving gypsy swindles carpenter of \$37,000" (the *Montreal Star*, July 14th, 1975). Other such include "The terrible vengeance of the gypsy queen", "For gypsies, life is travel", and "Cure for a gypsy curse", the "curse" in this

case being lack of "educational opportunity"<sup>15</sup>. In the late 1960's there were at least three comic strips about Gypsies, heavily stereotyped, in certain British girls' magazines: "Bringing up Gypsy" and "The Oakfield Outcasts" in *Bunty*, and "Gypsy Kim" in *Diana*.

The foundations were most firmly laid in literature. Black's *Gypsy Bibliography*, which includes nothing later than 1914, lists 133 ballads, 199 plays, 351 novels and 262 poems about or including Gypsies, written by non-Gypsies, exclusive of scientific treatments and collections of actual Romani oral literature. Since 1914, hundreds more have appeared, and the development of the motion picture industry has helped sustain the tradition.

In 1972 a 20-minute documentary was produced by a California television station about the Romani School in Richmond. Despite the serious intent of the film, the commentator (unconnected with the School) could not resist closing with "although Gypsies still dance around the camp fire, the fire is slowly flickering out as Gypsy life gradually fades into oblivion". There was of course no camp fire, let alone camp, in the film.

Other recent films, for example *The Bailbondaman* starring Jack Lemmon, or *King of the Gypsies*, starring Orson Welles, have been produced with scant attention paid to the interests of the Gypsy community. In *The Bailbondaman* for instance, the Gypsy girlfriend of the principal character has his name tattooed on her behind. The relationship is exceptional to begin with, but the Gazho-inspired sign of affection is totally contrary to what would be acceptable in Gypsy culture. This is to remain in the film despite advice received by its producers from someone who lives closely with the California Romani community. In the case of the *King of the Gypsies* by Peter Maas, author of *Serpico*, the Komitia Lumiaki Romani was told in answer to a letter asking to be allowed to advise on the script written to the American Council of Civil Liberties, that if a question of human rights existed at all, it would be the ACCL's task to defend the producer's right to make the picture undisturbed.

So the popular image is transmitted. The reasons for its continued existence are syndromatic; those who wish to write a book or make a film about Gypsies gather their background information from other books and films written by people who did the same thing before them.

The intentionally misleading information given by Gypsies themselves to outside enquirers must also be taken into account, although it is probably a protective technique which has developed gradually. Rom alive today remember with disgust the German scientist Eva Justin who, in the guise of a missionary obtained geneological data from their families which was later used by her against them in the Nazi death camps<sup>16</sup>. A graduate student at a northern US university writes that she is "especially interested in social and communication networks and current patterns of migration", as well as "the enumeration of Rom and their spatial distribution in the US"<sup>17</sup>. This kind of questioning cannot hope to meet

with success, and it is to this kind of researcher that false information may most readily be given. Except with the most persistent interrogator however, the Gypsy technique is usually just to exit from the situation. Anne Sutherland, in her book *Gypsies, the hidden Americans* (London, 1975, p. 21) gives an amusing picture of her early attempts at making contact with Rom, and being put off by feigned ignorance, deafness and even imbecility.

The literary image is the product of the non-Gypsy who finds fascination in a life supposedly utterly different from his own, outside the law and free of any restrictions. Where restrictions might occur, they are ignored lest they spoil the picture. Others find the image attractive because of its mystique of the exotic and forbidden. Nobody wants to hear that for much of the time Gypsy life is rather dull, especially for the children, that one's social circle is usually quite small and that a Gypsy household is not too different from that of a non-Gypsy. Far better to keep alive a more satisfying and aesthetic parody, even at the cost of human dignity.

It has been remarked that "it is strange how a gorgio will exaggerate the romance and glamour of the *Roms* and then turn and talk about them in scathing and contemptuous terms"<sup>18</sup>. This anomaly is familiar to Gypsies, who have for example been both envied and resented for being wanderers, when the wandering has been forced upon them by the settled population in the first place (according to some historians, since the very exodus from India itself). There are still laws in operation in many countries preventing mobile Gypsies from stopping in any one area for more than a day or so; an article by James Smart which appeared in the *Philadelphia Enquirer* in 1970, entitled "A Gypsy can't be a Gypsy without a Gypsy license" reported that in Pennsylvania, "a gypsy may not camp or transact business without getting a \$50 license from the county; any gypsy who insists on being what he was born - a gypsy - without a license, is liable to up to \$100 fine and 30 days in jail". And although he goes on to say that "it is both un-American and discriminatory for the state to require a gypsy to have a license to be a gypsy", as far as is known the 1909 law continues to exist in Pennsylvania.

It is unlikely that this popular, unreal image will ever be eradicated. It is too firmly rooted in Euro-American folklore, and as with all caricatures there are superficially some elements of truth in the stereotype. The reasons for their existence are what need to be understood; that Gypsies have travelled for centuries not to satisfy a romantic urge but because stopping has meant transportation, enslavement, and even death. Theft, another stereoattribute<sup>19</sup> would have been less in evidence if Gypsies were not refused service by shopkeepers so frequently. Life styles rely on the environment. Cannibalism, baby-stealing, lack of responsibility, cunning, laziness, lust, an inborn musical ability, so go the traditional attributes. And many of these traits are evident among Gypsies, but they are among all human groups. 50/

The Gypsy community is not particularly concerned with this misrepresentation. Hollywood Gypsies are indeed often greatly enjoyed, an enjoyment seasoned with the assurance that the gazhê do not know enough to be able to represent the Gypsy properly. Since the fantasy Gypsy world exists almost entirely within the non-Gypsy

experience, for the most part it is not even known about in the Gypsy environment. When it is, it is put to good use. What is more significant to Gypsy leaders, especially in Europe, is the effect it may have at higher, more authoritative levels, which in the past have relied upon non-Gypsies and their available literature for their knowledge. Only now are Romani organizations themselves being approached by UNESCO and similar bodies, for information.

The day is probably past when statements like "it would be wrong to try to prevent the progressive ethnic decay of Gypsy ethnic unity"<sup>20</sup> are heard, but there will always be those who will, "at the slightest hint of Gypsies in the neighbourhood ... change into disreputable clothes, bid an abrupt farewell to wives and children, slam down their desks and disappear for hours and days"<sup>21</sup>, and the romantically inclined will never stop the endless quest by mail: "Although I have been unable to find any Gypsies, I have read every Gypsy book in our library and I never had the same kind of rapport with any other peoples..."<sup>22</sup>.

UWI Libraries

## FOOTNOTES

1. Ian F. Hancock, *Problems in the creation of a standard dialect of Romanês*, Social Science Research Council on Sociolinguistics Working Paper No. 25, May 1975.
2. Richardson Wright, "Gypsy lore in America 1888-1938", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, XVII (Jubilee Number), 1938, pp. 11-18. The original quote appears in the past tense.
3. By e.g. Thomas Acton, Mary Evelyn Porter, Anne Sutherland, etc.
4. So labelled in his "La persistance d'un groupe paria relativement stable: quelques réflexions sur les Tsiganes nord-américains", *Etudes Tsiganes*, XVI(2/3).3-23 (1970), p. 4.
5. *Op. cit.*, fn. 1.
6. Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 63, gives an estimated white admixture of 60% (compare this with the ca. 30% for Afro-Americans).
7. The second world war was especially significant in this respect. Such individuals are not uncommon in Romani political movements, their familiarity with both cultures being especially useful in liaison positions.
8. See *Panch bersh buti: the 5th annual report of the National Gypsy Education Council*, London, 1975, p. 10.
9. See *TV Guide*, December 8th, 1973, p. A-5.
10. See for example the article "Caravan man is not a gypsy, Judge decides", *The Courier*, February 15th, 1974, p. 21.
11. See Anne Sutherland, *Gypsies, the hidden Americans*, London, 1975, p. 315, fn. 1 for chapter 9.
12. *Op. cit.*, fn. 1.
13. Einar Haugen, *Section on language planning: commentary*, August, 1974. Unpublished manuscript circulated to participants, pp. 15.
14. *Op. cit.*, fn. 1, §4.41.
15. Appearing in *The Sun*, July 17th, 1975, the *New York Times*, April 30th, 1972 and the *Observer Magazine*, June, 1971, respectively.
16. E. Justin, *Lebensschicksale artfremd erzogener Zigeunerkinde*, Berlin, 1944.

17. Letter received Spring 1975.
18. Molly Davidson, "A Gypsy wedding in Virginia", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, XVI(3).149-151 (1937).
19. A Hungarian restaurant in Mexico City has a huge mural depicting a group of Gypsies climbing over a wall to steal some chickens.
20. Jaroslav Sus, *Cikanska otazka v. CSSR*, Prague (1961) [translation].
21. Wright, *op. cit.*, fn. 2, p. 18.
22. Letter received November, 1974.

UWI Libraries

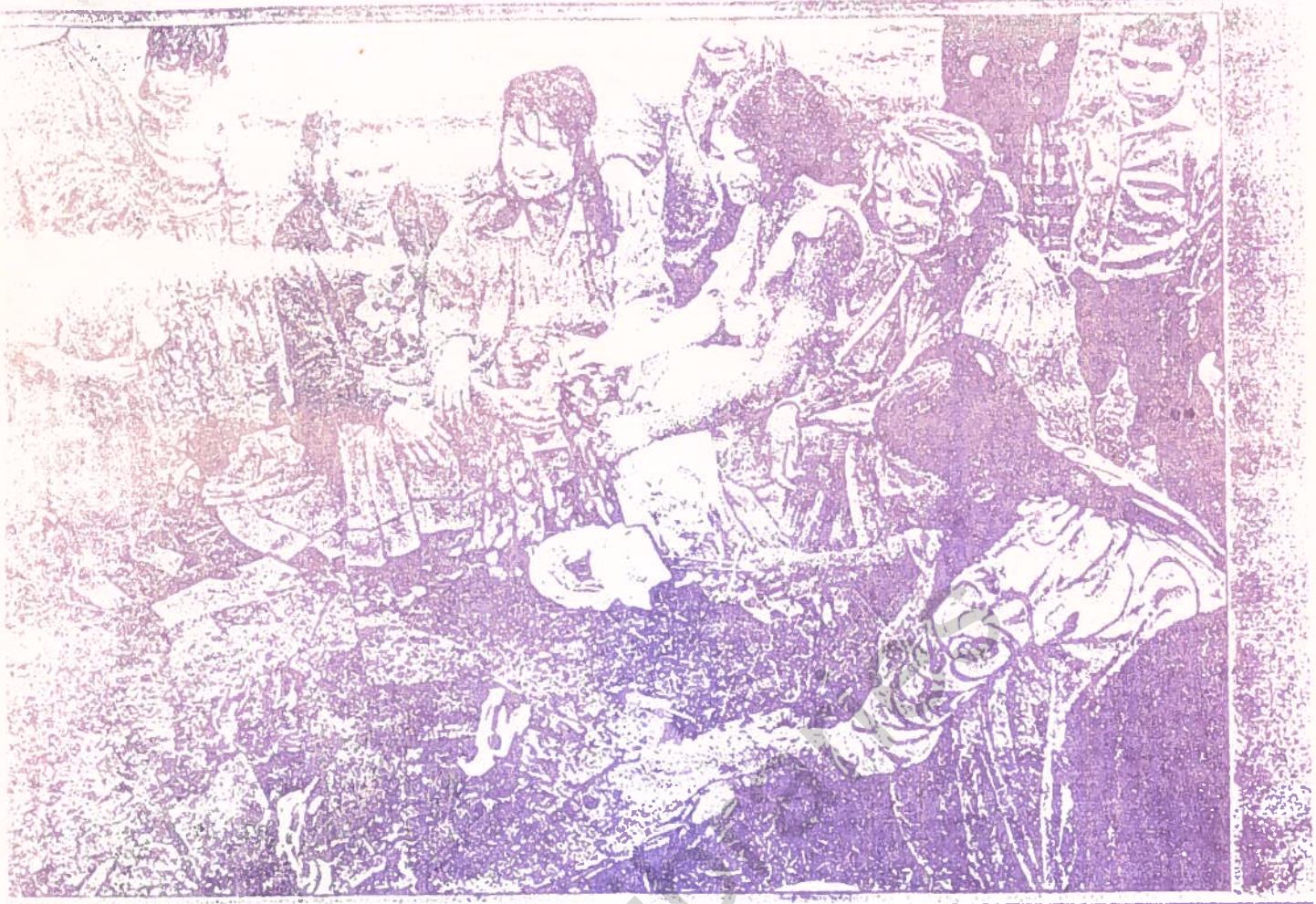


pp. 666-677

# Romani Foodways

*Gypsy Culinary Culture*

*Ian Hancock*



# Romani Foodways

## Gypsy Culinary Culture

Ian Hancock

**T**here is no single cohesive Romani culture but instead there are many. While all Gypsy populations retain a more or less shared cultural and linguistic core, their fragmentation after they reached Europe seven centuries ago has led to the emergence of many distinct groups. Thus, no description of the life and customs of any one group can possibly hold true for all Romani people.

In the mid to late thirteenth-century, the Romani migration arrived in Europe.

Half of their number dispersed throughout the continent, reaching every country in northern and western Europe by about 1500, but the other half was enslaved in the Balkans until the mid-nineteenth cen-



■ *Opposite:* A clan gathers around a cooking fire in Belgium. *Above:* A family travels in southern Greece. *Below:* A mother prepares a meal in northern Greece. Romani people are found throughout Europe and North America; they are one of the world's most widely dispersed groups.



tury. While Roma in south eastern Europe were being thus held in bondage, anti-Gypsy laws elsewhere, resulting partly from the misconception that Roma were associated with the invading Muslims and partly from prejudice against their dark skins and foreign ways, ensured that Roma were kept on the move and out of sight. By the 1600s laws in Germany, Finland, and England made it a hanging offense simply to be *born* a Gypsy.

It would be logical to look for parallels with Indian culinary culture in Romani culture (*Romanipén*), and they certainly exist. But the most evident characteristics reflect the sojourn in Europe differing between those populations tied to the land in slavery and those who were kept on the move elsewhere in Europe because of laws that gave them no option, laws that also made it dangerous to rely upon shopkeepers and the European peasantry as a source of supply. This was true even recently. In November 1973 a villager in Pfaffenhofen, Germany, opened fire upon a Gypsy family who had come to his farm simply to try to buy produce, killing three. The sympathies of the police were with the farmer.

It might be argued that because of the compactness of their population and their complete social isolation from their European owners, the gypsy slaves in Moldavia and Wallachia were able to retain more of the core culture than has been preserved elsewhere. Certainly it is among the descendants of those *Vlax Rom* (Wallachian or Romanian) Gypsies that the most rigorously upheld cultural beliefs about food prevail.

On the other hand, *Vlax* culture also incorporates much that is traceable to Balkan and other non-Gypsy origins—perhaps more so than among other populations. This has not, of course, “diluted” *Vlax* culture; such influences become incorporated into *Romanipén* (called *Romaníya* in the *Vlax* dialect) just as pizza, fajitas, and cooking in a wok have been incorporated into mainstream American culinaria.

### Romani dualistic worldview

In order to appreciate the position that food occupies in Romani life, it is necessary first of all to understand the dual nature of the Romani perception of the world. Although this view can be discerned in most groups, it is especially evident among the *Vlax*, and the discussion here is from that viewpoint in particular. Furthermore the descendants of the liberated slaves are the most numerous among the Romani groups in the United States, and their life in this country has been best documented.

For a Rom, the world is divided into Rom (Gypsy) and *gadje* (non-Gypsy), men and women, old and young. It is also divided into what is perceived to be either ritually clean or unclean, pure as opposed to polluted. This two-way division of the universe extends into areas of personal hygiene, the human body, food preparation, sickness and health, and by extension into herbalism and magic as well.

Romani food-related customs constitute the core of their maintenance of a strict division between the pure and the contaminated. This affects human social behavior beyond the realm of food: An individual's social status depends fundamentally upon the state of nonpollution of his own body, and this depends, in turn, upon

For a Rom,  
the world is  
divided into  
Gypsy and  
non-Gypsy,  
men and  
women,  
clean or un-  
clean.

what food goes into it.

Notions of ritual pollution, so central to Romani belief, come from the caste system of India, place of origin of the Roma. Members of the same *jāti* (social-economic-occupational groups that are outgrowths of the earlier, more rigid caste system) can eat together without risk of contamination but will be polluted if they eat with members of other *jāti*. And because the *jāti* affiliation of one's associates might not always be known, contact between the mouth and utensils shared with others at the meal is avoided. Thus liquids might be poured into the mouth

from a container held away from the lips so that the rim of the vessel is not touched, and smoke from a shared pipe might similarly be sucked through the fist, clenched around its stem. The surest way to avoid contact with utensils used by others, of course, is to eat with the fingers. Cooking outdoors on a U-shaped stove made of bricks or stones enclosing a wood fire, eating from a mat or tray placed on the ground or raised slightly above it, preparing special foods, especially breads, for special occasions—all of these customs are found among Romani groups in Europe and have changed little

■ A Romani man rests before setting up camp in Greece.



since the *mukhipé*, the time of the Romani departure from India a millennium ago.

Until the time of the arrival in Europe (the *aresaipé*), the Rom were settled in Persia and the Byzantine Empire for about two hundred years. But while some terms for food were acquired there, no evidence exists that the ritual beliefs concerning food preparation were modified during this period. On the other hand, the retention of certain terms derived from Byzantine Greek, do suggest the acquisition of new mealtime habits, though they seem not to have been widely retained once the population began moving further west. Religious beliefs relating to food have clear parallels in Hindu ritual, but there is no indication that Hinduism has been retained by the Roma outside of In-

dia. Kounavine's accounts of Hindu retentions among Russian Roma have been proven to be fabricated, and surviving remnants of, for example, the creation myth appear to have more in common with Zoroastrianism or Manichaeism than with Hinduism, Islam, or Christianity.

Because of life on the move, the majority of Roma have been obliged to find food in the wild: small animals, fruit, nuts, and berries in the woods; fish in the streams; root and leaf vegetables from the farmers' fields. The Roma literally *catch* fish by standing in the river until fish swim into their hands, where they are gently stroked and tossed quickly onto the bank; chickens and other game are caught using a whip. Although certain foods are forbidden at certain times, for example, during Lent or on saints' days,

■ Preparing bread for a morning meal. When the availability of provisions permits, there are two meals each day—in the early morning and late afternoon.



very few are permanently taboo. But this depends upon each group. Thus horse-meat is commonly, but not universally, rejected—probably because so many Gypsies owe their livelihood to that particular animal. Muslim Roma reject pork, and few, if any, groups eat snake meat because of the negative symbolism of that reptile in Romani folklore. Dogs are considered unclean because they lick themselves, and so they are not eaten. The connection between uncleanliness and misfortune is illustrated by the fact that for the Romanichals in Britain, Australia, and the United States, for example, the mere mention of the names of some animals is believed to bring bad luck. Romanichals are also reluctant to eat from white crockery because, it is said, this is the color of Jesus' shroud.

### Food preparation methods

Methods of food preparation have been similarly contingent upon circumstance. Thus stews, unleavened breads, and fried foods are common, while leavened breads and broiled foods, are not. A meal is traditionally served upon a large tray, perhaps made of brass, set on a cloth on the ground or raised on a low stand. A table is sometimes used. Forks are only used for cooking. Roma use their fingers to eat, being careful not to let the food touch anything other than the fingertips; sometimes they throw the food into their mouths without it even touching the lips. A piece of bread may be torn from a loaf and used to convey food to the mouth. Like Hindus and Muslims, Roma, in Europe more than in America, avoid using the left hand during meals, either to eat with or to pass things. The meat or fish is eaten first, and then



■ Food is served with a clear sense of order: first older men, then younger men, older women, younger women, and, finally, children.

each vegetable separately. Some people use their knives to cut their food but, like the plates and cups, these are one's personal property and are not to be used by others at any meal.

Traditional Viach cooking in Europe (and in earlier days here in the United States) is done in open kettles, copper pots, or frying pans. These are held over the fire by a chain and hook and set on a stand for serving. People eat from bowls, which are often tiered, having three or four steps upon which the different compo-

nents of the meal are kept. Wooden ladles, once manufactured by slaves on the Moldavian and Wallachian estates, are the principal tools for cooking.

It would be extremely rude for an individual to help himself to food from another's plate, although close family members might take an especially nice piece of

meat, say, from their own plate and present it to another. However hungry one might be, a small portion of food must be left on the plate as a sign that more than enough food has been served. (To finish everything suggests that the guest might still be hungry, and the host is then put into the potentially embarrassing position of having to offer more, which he might not have.) As a rule, older men are served first, followed by younger men, older women, younger women, and, finally, the children. Adults not eating will serve those within their own age and gender group who are. It would also be rude not to offer something to a visitor or for that visitor to refuse anything offered unless he tells his host *te xas sastimaśsa* (May you eat in health). If one has already eaten, he usually accepts a cup of coffee as a sign of goodwill. In any case, the assumption is that any person not complying with these customs believes that

the other is unclean because eating together is a sign of trust and mutual respect.

When the availability of provisions permits, there are traditionally two meals each day—one shortly after rising and one in the late afternoon. These have far more than a functional purpose, however, for *khethanipé* (being together) is of fundamental importance to Roma and meals

provide one of the few regular occasions when this can occur. This relates directly to the necessity of making a living in a *gadji-kanó* or the non-Gypsy milieu, and the risk of contamination by association that it carries. Only by balancing time outside of the protective Romani environment with time spent among Roma can the debilitating effects of association be offset.

### Cleanliness and food preparations

In Romaníya, the inability to cook is considered a failing, meaning, most of all, that one has to depend upon someone else. So both men and women can cook, and young children are taught how to prepare meals.

In the preparation of food, everything must be absolutely clean, both naturally and symbolically. A distinction is made in Romaníya between being dirty from natural dirt (*melaló*, *gunoiasló*, *moxlaimé*, *chikaló*, *bivuzhó*—the very number of terms is indicative of the Romani preoccupation with dirt and cleanliness) and being dirty or polluted ritually (*marimé* or *pekelimé*). Clean is *vuzhó*, pure is *chísto*.

Because food is ingested, it is an easy medium for transmitting harm—whether natural, such as poison, or supernatural, such as a curse. If the food has been defiled in any way it defiles whoever eats it. Because it opens and takes in food at mealtimes, the mouth is an avenue for another's evil thoughts to enter the body. Only those people well known to the host are asked to share food; watching another person eat while one is not eating oneself would certainly invite suspicion. Those considered *marimé*, which includes all *gadje* and certain members of the Romani community who have acquired that conli-

A small portion of food is left on the plate to show that more than enough food was served.



■ Setting up a camp near Athens. Life on the move has a great impact on Roma diet, obliging Gypsies to forage in the wild.

DAN MCCOY / RAINBOW

tion for various infractions of Romaníya, are also not invited and would never be asked to help cook. In the United States, even huge meals involving hundreds of people are not usually catered. If it is necessary to entertain an outsider—an official, for example—he is provided with cutlery and crockery kept solely for that purpose and be given a chair also reserved just for non-Gypsy visitors.

From the Romani perspective, the body is divided at the waist into a clean half (the upper body) and an unclean half (the lower body). The focus of the clean half is the head and mouth, the focus of the unclean half is the genital area and the feet. Bedcovers have a button or a scrap of cloth (a *chípka*) sewn onto the end that covers the feet so that it will never be placed on the bed upside down inad-

vertently. Because the hands travel between the upper and the lower body constantly, they must be washed and re-washed. Shaking hands with gadje, and sometimes even with other Roma, is avoided. Food, too, is washed; vegetables are scrubbed with soap kept specifically for that purpose before being cut up. (Different soaps are used for different things—the upper body, the lower body, clothing, crockery, etc.—and are of different colors to keep them separate from each other.)

To ensure that everything is clean, food and utensils are not to touch any unclean surface, one's clothing, or people not directly involved in the preparation. Food is purchased in crates and drink in barrels; meat is bought on the hoof. In any case, there should be no visible indication of food having been handled. Cutlery is not put directly onto the table top but placed first on a folded napkin. If a piece of tableware falls to the ground or is defiled in some other way (perhaps by being

licked by a dog or a cat), it used to be destroyed, although today it is more common to purify the item by prolonged boiling or soaking in bleach. Any food on the table that has been touched, even barely, is thrown away after the meal or else given to non-Gypsies, perhaps even passers-by.

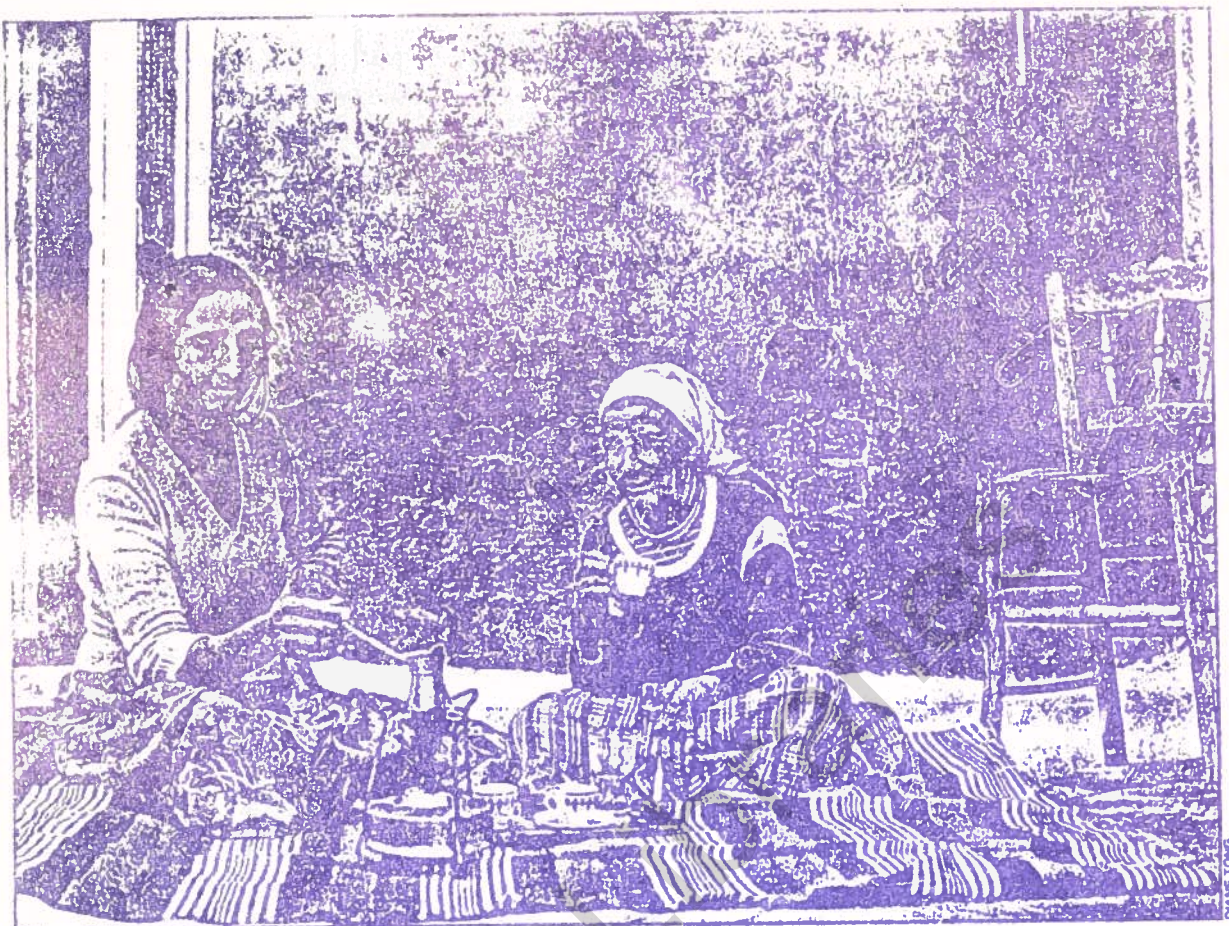
Foods to be avoided during fasting usually include meat and other animal products. Some individuals fast regularly each Friday, although fasting as a rule is practiced only by individuals who are sexually active. Some fasting does not have a religious basis but is motivated by concerns of health. Breast feeding mothers, for instance, will not eat green vegetables, nor can they fast at the same times as the rest of the family. Since fasting is considered to strengthen and purify the body, individuals might fast for an ailing relative. (In times of sickness, family support is vital—a fact that causes hospital administrators some alarm when their wards become filled with the patients' relatives.)

At special feasts among American Roma, everything should ideally be new, including one's clothing, any money that will be involved openly, the candles, and so on. Religious statues are washed using newly purchased towels and soap, preferably squeeze-bottle soap that needn't touch the hands. Women who are indisposed (see below) are not allowed to touch the religious statues. Ordinary families use plastic knives, forks, and spoons, and paper or plastic plates and tablecloths—assuredly unused and therefore clean.

Women are indisposed and enjoined from cooking when they are menstruating, (referred to euphemistically as *nasva-ll* [ill], or that they *dikhén-pe* [are seeing themselves]; the menses are referred to as *pódyá*, a word actually meaning *petticoat*.) Other causes of indisposition are

■ The inability to cook is considered a failing, so men, as well as women, know how to prepare meals.





■ Ritual beliefs of cleanliness forbid sharing. Personal utensils and cups are required at all times.

late pregnancy, childbirth, or being in mourning (a *zhalyaki Romni*). When family groups were larger, other women could stand in for those excused from cooking; in smaller families nowadays, any other family member might take over. At especially important gatherings, religious feasts for example, only men will cook as an extra precaution against contamination.

While the origins of these beliefs can clearly be traced to India, it is also quite probable that they became even more deeply entrenched into Romaníya during the years when families were kept on the move or lived in close quarters where personal hygiene was at a premium. Water

was not always available when access to wells was prohibited (Roma were accused of poisoning the wells when they arrived in Europe), and toiletries were unavailable from shopkeepers, who could be fined for doing business with Gypsies.

### Hot and cold foods

Some foods are considered especially beneficial or lucky. Food of this kind, called *baxteló xabé*, consists of items that are either strong-tasting or bright-colored, such as chili, black pepper, garlic, lemon, pickles, vinegar, or salt. These items can be incorporated into pro-



■ A family celebration in France. Holiday or special occasion meals—no matter how large—are almost never catered. It would be improper for a non-Gypsy to prepare the food.

TECTIVE amulets. This is paralleled in Rājput (North Indian) culture, which divides foods into *hot* and *cold*, with their proper consumption and balance in the diet having a direct bearing upon one's health and well-being. Among Roma, a lack of these foods can predispose one to illness, and cures are effected by *baxtalé xai-máta* in the diet or left outside the house to detract harmful spirits.

The Roma, also like the Rājputs, divide sickness into those that are directly related to the group's activity, and those that are not. Among the Rājputs, sickness can come by not obeying the laws of Rājput life—not respecting certain gods,

for example. Afflictions of this kind include smallpox, cholera, seizures, nervous tension from a spell, and so on. Some of these, cholera and smallpox for example, are thought to be retribution from female gods, and the cure must come through the advice of a medicine woman, or *slāna*, who will, among other things, prescribe a particular diet. Ordinary sicknesses, that is those acquired by contact with outsiders or the improper attention to the body and diet, include diarrhea, coughs, colds, and stomach aches.

Among Roma, the same general divisions apply, although sexually transmitted and some other diseases are also seen

as non-Gypsy—these can be acquired only from a non-Gypsy and require the attention of a non-Gypsy doctor. Advice on Gypsy diseases is sought from a *drabarni*, the equivalent of the *slāna*. The connection between healing and divination is clear here: The root of this word is *drab* (medicine), but it is also the general word for *spiritual advisor*. Another parallel shared by both the Rājput and Romani cultures is the belief that sicknesses are transmitted by a female spirit called a *choxayt* (a word that means *sorceress* in non-Vlax dialects). Marriage and parenthood are also integral parts of the cycle of balance; adults who are single are considered to be out of synchronization with Romaníya.

While a number of the traditional practices connected with food and its preparation have disappeared or have become modified, especially in North America, and attitudes toward pollution have perhaps relaxed to some extent, they continue to form an integral part of Romaníya, nevertheless; one's state of inner balance (his health and state of mind) and outer balance (social harmony) depend upon his maintenance of the requirements of Romanipén in all its aspects. Disharmony here can only lead to loss of identity—and acceptance—as a Rom. It is this barrier between the clean and the polluted that, more than any other aspect of Romani culture except perhaps language, keeps the Romani people intact and distinct from all non-Gypsy populations around them. ■

---

Ian Hancock is the UN and UNICEF representative for the International Romani Union and a professor of linguistics and English at the University of Texas at Austin. He has published extensively on the Roma; most recently he has written *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution*.

## Additional Reading

- Deben Bhattacharya, *The Gypsies*, Record Books, London, 1965.
- J. Chatard, & M. Bernard, *Zanko, chef tribal*, La Colombe, Paris, 1959.
- Leela Dube, "Diet, Health and Disease in a North Indian Village," Dept. of Anthropology, Cornell University, 1956.
- Nora Fisher, "On the Banjara Trail," *Span*, 31(1):6, 1990.
- Jean-Claude Frère, *L'énigme des Gitans*, Maisson Mame, Paris, 1973.
- George A. Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1903-1922.
- Rena Gropper, *Gypsies in the City*, The Darwin Press, Princeton, 1975.
- Ian Hancock, "The Romani Diaspora," *THE WORLD & I* (in two parts), March 1989, April 1989.
- Vanya de Gila Kochanowski, "Plack Gypsies, White Gypsies," *Diogenes*, 63:27-47, 1968.
- Chaman Lal, *Gypsies, Forgotten Children of India*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Delhi, 1962.
- Jean-Pierre Liégeois, *The Gypsies: An Illustrated History*, Al-Saqi Books, London, 1986.
- Carol J. Miller, *Mačwaya Gypsy marimé*, Master's thesis, The University of Washington, Seattle, 1968.
- Leigh Minturn and John T. Hitchcock, *The Rājputs of Khalapur, India*, John Wiley & Sons, New York and London, 1966.
- Ranjit Naik, *Banjara: Indian Roma from Barrothan*, Bombay, 1978.
- Judith Oakley, *The Traveller-Gypsies*, The Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.
- W.R. Rishi, "The Etymology of the Word Rom." *Roma* 1(2):43-45, 1975.
- W.R. Rishi, *Roma: The Panyabi Emigrants in Europe, Central and Middle Asia, the USSR and the Americas*, Punjabi Press, Patiala, 1975.
- S.S. Shasi, *Roma: The Gypsy World*, Sandeep Prakashan, Delhi, 1990.
- D.P. Singhal, *Gypsies: Indians in Exile*, Archana Publications, Meerut, 1982.
- Anne Sutherland, *Gypsies: The Hidden Americans*, Macmillan, London, 1975.
- N.B. Tomasević, and Rajko Djurić, *Gypsies of the World*, Henry Holt & Co, New York, 1988.
- Ronald L. Trail, *The Grammar of Lavnani*, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, 1970.
- Francis Watson, *A Concise History of India*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1974.
- H. Yule, and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1886.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANI LINGUISTICS

Ian Hancock  
The University of Texas  
Austin, Texas



This paper was presented at the Sixth Annual Meeting and Conference on Gypsy Studies of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter, New York, February 24th-26th, 1984. It will appear in M. A. Hancock & W. Winter (eds.), *Studies in honor of Edgar F. ...* (Hague, forthcoming), and may not be ...

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANI LINGUISTICS

Ian Hancock

The University of Texas at Austin

While members of at least one group of Gypsies encountered by Foroliviensis in Italy in 1422 were able to tell him that they were from India ("*aliqui dicebant, quod erant in India*" — "some [of the Gypsies] said they were from India", recorded in Muratori, 1754, Vol. 19, under the entry for August 4th, 1422)<sup>1</sup>, recollection of the place of origin seems to have become lost early on among Gypsy populations in Europe, perhaps the principal reason for the startling number of proposed origins scattered through the literature. These range from the carefully scientific to the most foolishly romantic: among those which no longer find wide acceptance among modern scholars include the notions that Gypsies were originally Tatars — followers of Jenghiz Khan returning to devastate eastern Europe, Jews coming out of hiding, Jews from Egypt, Egyptians chasing Jews, Arabs, descendants of Cain, descendants of Atlantis, extraterrestrials or descendants of *L'âme rouge*, a race of prehistoric horsemen which also included American Indians, the Basques and the Fellahin of Egypt (Folco de Baroncelli-Javon, in Dix, 1975).

The theories which continue to find adherents are (a) that Gypsies are of Indian origin, (b) that Gypsies are of Asian, but not specifically Indian, origin, and (c) that they are a composite people, widely distributed throughout the world and constituting a social type of divers ethnic origins. This latter hypothesis, most recently supported by Okely (1983), is weakened by (among other things) her reliance on just one Gypsy population -- that of Sicily.

and by insufficient familiarity with inflected Romani. It has been the Gypsy language, or rather the study of its fragmented dialects, more than any other single factor which has led to the general acceptance of an Indian origin for its speakers. But while the language is undeniably Indic, and while contemporary Indian linguists are zealous in their attempts to forge such a connection<sup>2</sup>, it is significant that some scholars -- who are themselves Gypsies, e.g. Lee, Kochanowski, Bryer -- believe Gypsy origins to be outside of India.

Sebastian Munster was the second observer to allude to an Indian origin for the European Rom, in his *Cosmographie Universelle* (1550:267), but his hypothesis was not based upon linguistic criteria, nor did his work include any discussion of the language. It was not until 1760 that Valyi Istvan, a Calvinist student of theology from Almas in Hungary, who was studying at Leiden, was able to make known his findings. In a discussion about Sanskrit with three students from Malabar who were attending the same university, he noticed some similarities between that language and the smattering of Romani he had acquired from Gypsies living in Raab (now called Győr) near his home. Upon returning to Hungary, he was able to confirm his suspicions after visiting the same Romani speakers and reading a prepared list of Sanskrit words to them.

This discovery was made known in print three years later in an article by Székely von Doba in the *Gazette de Vienne*, which in turn provided material for a discussion of the Indian affiliations of European Romani by Rüdiger in 1782. The English philologist Jacob Bryant reached similar conclusions, probably independently (see Sampson, 1911) in 1785, while in the same year, one William Marsden published a comparative list of English Romani, Turkish Romani and Hindi, concluding (1785:385) that

Should any be inclined to doubt (which I scarcely suppose possible) of the identity of the *Gypsey* or *Cingari*, and the *Hindustanic* languages, still it will be acknowledged as no uninteresting subject of speculation, that tribes wandering through the mountains of *Nubia*, or the plains of *Romania*, have been convers[ing] for centuries in a dialect precisely similar to that spoken at this day by the obscure, despised and wretched people in England, whose language has been considered as a fabricated gibberish and confounded with a cant in use among thieves and beggars, and whose persons have been (till within the period of a year) an object of the persecution, instead of the protection, of our laws.

Comparative Indian linguistics was still in its infancy at that time, and there is still some disagreement as to the exact classification of its dialects. It is now generally accepted that Proto-Indic was carried into

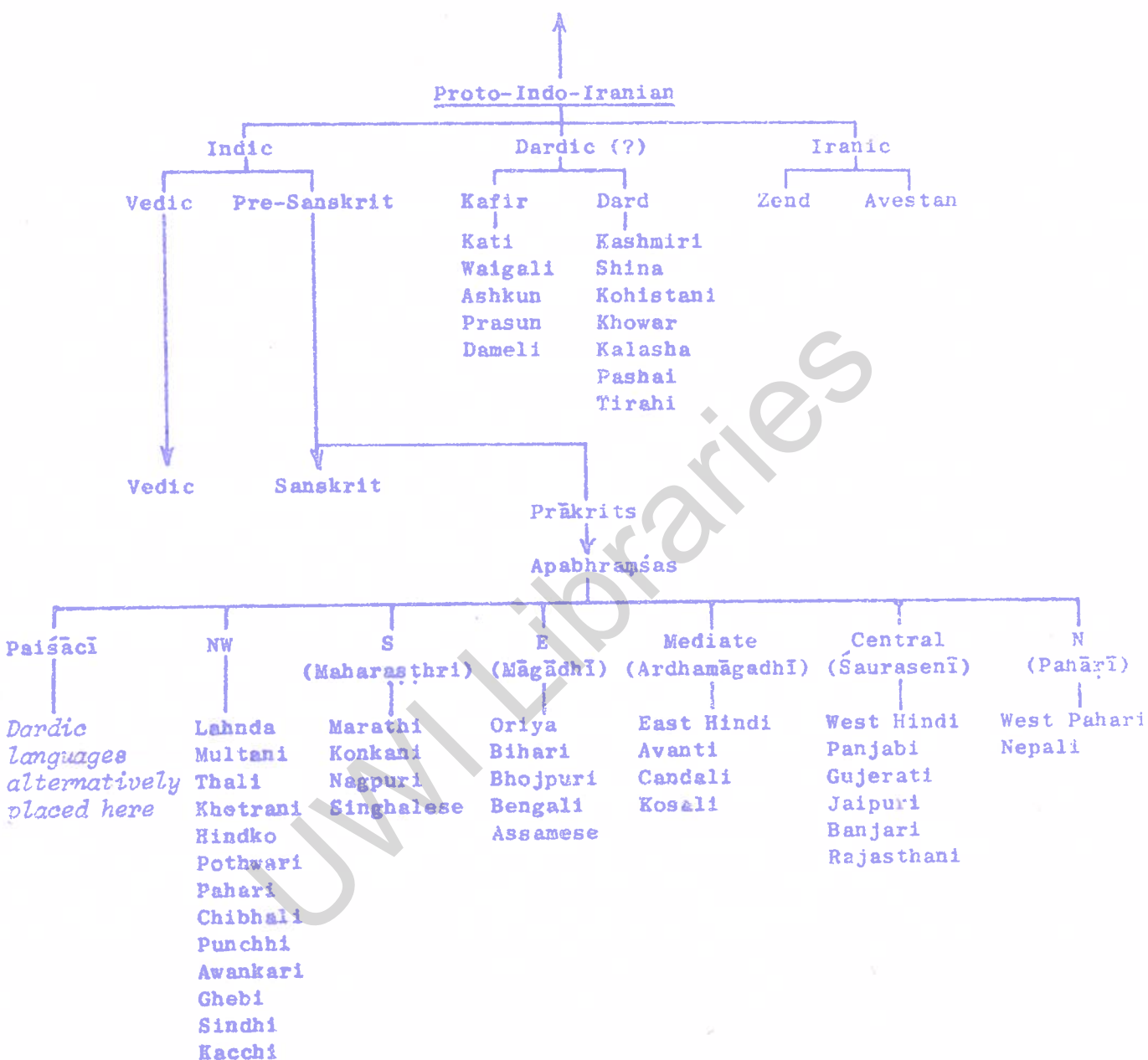


FIG. 1. DESCENT OF THE MODERN INDIC LANGUAGES

the Subcontinent between 3,000 and 2,000 BC (Polomé, 1984), ultimately from the Indo-European homeland in the region of the Steppes of southern Russia. At that time, the closely related Iranic, Indic (and possibly Dardic) groups had become distinct linguistic subfamilies. Among the great number of early Indic languages, Vedic and Sanskrit are perhaps the best known, and were closely related to each other. Also closely related to these were some 40 other languages, collectively known as the Prākṛits, some of which were the vehicles of extensive literatures, and which are still cultivated today as liturgical tongues, *e.g.* Pāli (for Buddhism) and Māgādhī (for Jainism). Based upon the Prākṛits were several colloquial and literary vernaculars known as Apabhraṃśas, and it is from these, rather than from the Prākṛits, that the modern Indian languages descend.

A few years before the appearance of Rüdiger's work Bacmeister, a colleague of his, published a short note based upon it in which he linked Romani most closely with Multani, a language of the North-Western group (Bacmeister, 1777). Rüdiger's work also attracted the attention of Heinrich Grellmann who, in 1783 published a treatment of Romani language, migration and customs. On the basis of the few treatments available to him, Grellmann posited a geographical origin for the Rom in Hindustan, and their social origin in the Śūdra, *i.e.* the lowest of the four Hindu castes. He also believed that the language of Surat, Gujarati, was the most closely-related modern Indian language to Romani, and that Romani had undergone change as a result of social factors encountered after its subsequent arrival in Europe.

Grellmann's work attracted the interest of a number of Indianists, who became marginally interested in Romani and who made passing references to its possible genealogy in their work. Such scholars included Schlegel, Bopp and Jülg, though beyond acknowledging an ultimate source in Sanskrit, they made no attempt to propose a more precise lineage for the language. Contemporary with these scholars was a handful of Romanologues who were publishing descriptions of specific dialects of European Romani: Bischoff, von Heister, Puchmeyer and Graffunder among them (see bibliography), thus there was ample material becoming available on Romani, and an increasing corpus of data dealing with the languages of India, for Augustus Pott to produce the first scientific historical and comparative study of Romani in 1844 -- for which he has come to be regarded as the father of Romani linguistics. He reputedly never met any Gypsies, and did all of his work from non-primary sources.

Pott offered three premises: firstly, that while there existed many Romani dialects in Europe, they all descended from one "once uniform original language"; secondly, that contrary to what was popularly supposed, Romani was a distinct language with its own lexicon and grammar, and was not to be confused with any of the various "thievish jargons"<sup>3</sup>, and thirdly that it descended from Sanskrit and was most closely related to Sindhi, spoken in what is today southern Pakistan. The Italian scholar Graziadio Ascoli supported Pott's theories, in a significant study published over twenty years later in 1865.

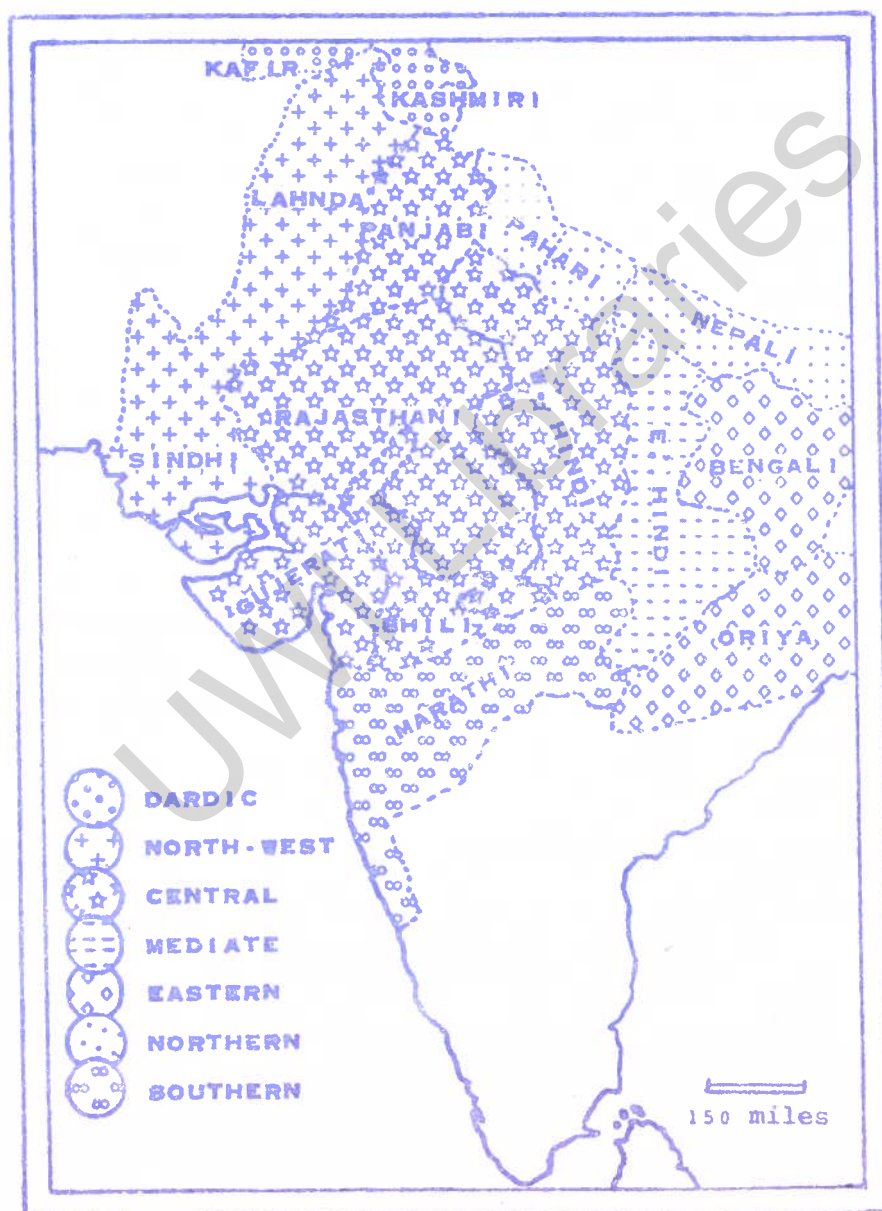


FIG. 2. DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIVISIONS OF THE NEO-INDIC LANGUAGE SUBFAMILIES

In 1851, Sir Richard Burton published a short work in which he proposed that the European Gypsy population shared certain similarities with the Jats of India, an idea which was expounded upon later by Trumpp (1872), Bataillard (1875) and de Goeje (1903). Burton claimed to be the first to suggest this origin; both Rishi (1976:86) and Singhal (1982:38, probably based on Rishi) indicate that Pott believed that "...the relation between Romany and the dialect of the modern Jats was so close that there could be no doubt that the roots of Romani lay in the north of India" (Singhal, *loc. cit.*), though an examination of Pott revealed no mention of this.

Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, in a study of early Iranian migration which appeared in the middle of the last century, was told by his Persian Gypsy informants that their ancestors were not from India nor had ever been there, but came instead from Kabūl, in what is today Afghanistan (1857:693). The possibility that Romani, and the ancestors of the Gypsies, separated from the main Indo-Aryan migration before it entered the Subcontinent seems to be gaining a number of adherents today.

The next important figure was Franz Miklosich, who had done fieldwork at first-hand among various groups of Rom throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire and who, as a result, had compiled a far broader data base from which to work. Unlike most of those before him, he also made efforts to learn to speak the language. Miklosich, an Austrian, produced two anthologies: the extensive, 12-part *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's* between 1872 and 1881, and the smaller *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten* between 1874 and 1878, works still consulted for their wealth of etymological and dialectological data. Indeed, the former work constituted the first etymological lexicon of the language ever produced.

Miklosich's genetic theories benefitted from a number of monographs then available on contemporary Indian languages, and he became persuaded by the idea that Romani was of a Dardic type, and was therefore most closely related to such languages as Kashmiri or Shina; he believed this because of preserved features shared by Romani and some members of this group (such as the consonant clusters *-st-*, *-št-*, *-tr-* and *-dr-*, which have become reduced in other branches), and he suggested that the split with the other Indic languages occurred very early on because of a number of preserved early shifts found in Romani (*Mundarten und Wanderungen*, IX:42-51, and *Beiträge*, IV:287-296). In his comparative grammar of the Neo-Indic languages (1872-

1879), John Beames supported Miklosich's theory of a geographically North-Western origin for Romani, placing the original homeland in the deserts of the northern Panjab (Beames, III:98), and suggesting a particularly close relationship with Kashmiri as well as Panjabi (*op. cit.*, IV:175-177), although these two languages belong to separate branches<sup>4</sup>.

In 1886, George Grierson, who was later to compile the monumental *Linguistic survey of India* (1903-1922), suggested that Romani was an Eastern, and not a North-Western, language (1887:38):

Concerning my own theory of the origin of the Gipsies, I have already, in the introduction to Mrs. Grierson's *Gypsy Index*, stated my opinion that the language test points to an Indian tribe speaking a dialect derived from Mâgadhi and not from Śaurasēni Prākṛit, and that, therefore, it is in Eastern Hindūstān that we must look for their ancestors.

But in his later published studies of the Paisācī languages he was to revise his views radically. In a note on Pischel's work, he said (1908:400)

...the linguistic home of the *Romané* is to be found in North-Western India, mostly beyond the frontier — in Kashmir, in Gilgit and in Chitral... the linguistic evidence, in my opinion, is conclusive. These people of the North-Western frontier speak a group of languages which I call *Pisāoa*, and the resemblances to Romani are quite convincing,

And again in his *Linguistic Survey* (VIII:9) that "there appears to be little doubt that their original Indian language was some form of Dardic". Jules Bloch supported Grierson's Dardic hypothesis in his study of Marathi (1920:22), citing as evidence the retention of /s/ in the clusters exemplified by Miklosich (*supra*), and the shift of /t/ < /l/ shared by Romani and Dardic, but lost altogether in the other branches.

Grierson (1906:iii) was among the earliest Indicists to propose that Dardic (Paisācī) constituted a third, distinct Aryan branch, alongside Indic and Iranian, a point of view modified later by Morgenstierne (1926), who believed that it was in fact Indic, but had separated from the core before undergoing the extensive morphological and phonological changes which characterize the other Indic branches subsequent to the Middle Indo-Aryan period. Nevertheless, it was Grierson's position which seems to have been adopted for the purposes of the Indian Census Bureau language survey (Sarker, 1964:91).

In 1883, Pischel also proposed a North-Western origin for the language, basing his evidence upon the work of Miklosich before him (1883:370):

...the Gypsy dialects agree so closely with those of the extreme north-west of India, the languages of the Dards and Kafirs, in a number of phonetic peculiarities, and at the same time are so utterly different from all the other Aryan languages of modern India, that in the present state of our knowledge their close relationship must inevitably be acknowledged.

In positing a Paisācī origin for the Romani language and people, Pischel believed Burton to have been wrong in forming a connection with the Jats, and Gobineau likewise to have been misled in his understanding of the origin and distribution of the peoples of western India. According to Windfuhr (1970:290), it is likely that it was Zargari (i.e. Balkan) speakers whom Gobineau encountered in Iran. Pischel suggested that the migration out of India was initiated by the invasion of the area by Islamic troops under Tamerlaine in the 13th century, but this can hardly be maintained in the light of what we now know of Romani chronology.

In 1907, Franz Nikolaus Finck published a compilation of all available studies on Lomavren, the dialect of the Boša or Gypsies of the southern Caucasus which, like Angloromani, survives almost wholly as a lexicon only (le Redžosko, 1984), having grammatically restructured itself on the model of the surrounding language, Armenian. Thus morphological, and especially syntactic forms are wanting. On the basis of its phonology and lexicon, both also heavily influenced by Armenian, Finck believed Lomavren to have distinct origins from European Romani within Indo-Aryan: the former (following Pischel and Miklosich) in Dardic, and the latter in a separate Prākritic branch, probably Śaurasenī. Finck's arguments were weak because Macalister's work on Domari, another non-European dialect, was not yet available to him as a basis for comparison<sup>5</sup> and because they rested upon the phonological characteristics of only a very few lexical items.

In a short notice which appeared in 1909, Alfred Woolner proposed that the origins of the language should be sought not in the north-west of India, but further east (cf. Grierson's first hypothesis), and suggested West Pahari -- a language closely related to Nepali -- as being especially close on the basis of a comparison between their respective verbal and pronominal paradigms.

A quarter of a century earlier, Charles Godfrey Leland had suggested that the word *Rom* was cognate with *dom*, and that the *dom* were the ancestors of the Gypsies. In Hindi, the word is defined as "one of the sweeper class; janitor, menial", and in Gujarati as "member of a nomadic class". Yule &

Burnell (1886:322) list under *Dome*, *Dhome* "The name of a very low caste, representing some old aboriginal race, spread all over India", and a quote dated 1817 at the same entry has "...another tribe of vagrants, who are also a separate sect...are the class of mountebanks, buffoons, posture-masters, tumblers, dancers and the like...the most dissolute body is that of the *Dumbars* or *Dumbaru*". This possibility found a staunch supporter in John Sampson, secretary to the Gypsy Lore Society which had been formed in 1888 (an indication of the growing interest in Romani studies) and librarian at the University of Liverpool. Sampson devoted much of his life to the study of Welsh Romani; His theories of Gypsy origins were presented initially in 1907, and in an elaborated version in 1923 in a paper read before the British Association (Sampson, 1923), and finally, supported with extensive linguistic data, in his *Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales* (1926). In that work he argued (p. 29), that

Romanī is not derived from any one of the seven languages [*i.e.* Apabhraṃśas], but is rather a separate dialect which, there is reason to believe, must have originated in the North-West provinces.

He saw the original Gypsies entering Persia during the ninth century, as "a single race speaking a single language" (1923:161), and argued that Romani belonged to the North-Western branch (with Bacmeister's Multani and Pott's Sindhi) rather than to the Dardic branch favoured by Miklosich, Pischel and Grierson, because it had reached Persia with its consonantal system intact, while the Dardic languages had already devoiced its voiced unaffricated stops well before the period of exodus out of India. Sampson also showed that European and Armenian Romani have regularly devoiced the original Sanskritic voiced aspirated series *-bh-*, *-dh-*, *-gh-* and *-jh-* to *-ph-*, *-th-*, *-kh-* and *-čh-*, whereas the reflex in Domari has yielded deaspirated voiced stops. His examples included (1923:161):

| <u>Sanskrit</u> | <u>European R.</u> | <u>Lomavren</u> | <u>Domari</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>ghāsa</i>    | <i>khas</i>        | <i>khas</i>     | <i>gas</i>    | "hay"          |
| <i>dhāv-</i>    | <i>thov-</i>       | <i>thov-</i>    | <i>dau-</i>   | "wash"         |
| <i>bhrātr</i>   | <i>phral</i>       | <i>phal</i>     | <i>bar</i>    | "brother"      |

Thus, he believed, devoicing of the voiced stops must have taken place on Persian territory; the two branches resulting from this split he called the *phen* (European and Lomavren) and the *ben* (Domari) groups, on the basis of their respective underlying forms for "sister"<sup>6</sup>.

In the same year that Sampson's grammar of Welsh Romani appeared, Ralph Turner published his arguments against the earlier theories of a North-Western or a Dardic origin for Romani, directing most of his criticism at the work of John Sampson. He suggested instead an ultimately *Central* (Śaurasenic) origin for the language. He attempted to show that Sampson was wrong on a number of counts, for example regarding the devoicing in the Dardic languages of the earlier voiced series retained in the non-Dardic divisions, for which Turner maintained there was no evidence, or regarding the voiced aspirates, retained by Romani but lost in Dardic, where Turner indicates that the latter phenomenon probably occurred much later in Dardic than the time of the split between Sampson's *phen* and *ben* branches. Turner also pointed out that earlier scholars had not paid sufficient attention to the significance of the *dates* of the various sound-shifts (1926:148):

...there seems to have been no attempt to determine or consider the relative dates of the sound-changes by which it is attempted to connect Romani with one or the other group. It is, however, of the highest importance that in the case of innovations, we distinguish between the earlier and the later.

By taking account of these innovations, Turner's aim was to show that Romani was more closely related to the Central than to the Dardic (his NW) group, and that North-Western features evident in it are later accretions resulting from migration out of the Central area through the North-West, and a probable sojourn there of some centuries before eventually moving on into Persian territory. He arrived at this conclusion after a detailed comparison of the sound-changes reflected in each branch. His North-Western (Dardic) data included material from Kashmiri, Shina and Tirahi; his Central (Śaurasenic) data included Hindi and Nepali. His correspondences are summarised as follows:

| <u>Sanskrit</u>                                           | <u>Dardic</u>                  | <u>Śauraseni</u>          | <u>Eur. Romani</u>     | <u>English</u>         |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| a. $\dot{r}$ : $\dot{p}r\dot{c}h\dot{a}t\dot{i}$          | ri : prichi                    | u,i : pūche               | u,i : puč-             | "ask"                  |
| b. $\dot{r}t$ : $\dot{d}h\dot{r}t\dot{a}h$                | t : -                          | t : dhārna                | t : thil-              | "hold"                 |
| c. ks : $\dot{d}r\dot{a}k\dot{s}\dot{a}$                  | çh : $\dot{d}r\dot{a}k\dot{s}$ | kkh : dakh                | kkh (< kh)<br>: drakh  | "grape"                |
| d. sm : $\dot{a}sm\dot{a}n$                               | sp,ss : asim                   | mh : ham                  | mh (< m)<br>: ame      | "we"                   |
| e. $\dot{t}v/\dot{d}v$ : $\dot{d}v\dot{a}r\dot{a}m$<br>tm | tt,d : daru                    | pp,b : bāhar              | pp (< p,b)<br>: bara   | "outside" <sup>7</sup> |
| f. y- : $\dot{y}\dot{a}t\dot{i}$                          | y- : $\dot{y}\dot{a}i$         | j : jae                   | j : ja-                | "go"                   |
| g. -m- : $\dot{b}h\dot{u}m\dot{i}$                        | -m- : bhum                     | -v̄- : $\dot{b}h\dot{u}i$ | -v̄- (< -v-)<br>: phuv | "earth"                |

In addition, Turner showed that the original Sanskrit medials *-t-/-th-* and *-d-/-dh-* were retained in European and Lomavren Romani as *-l-* and in Domari Romani as *-r-*, where they have been lost elsewhere, including in languages of the Central group:

| <u>Sanskrit</u> | <u>Dardic</u> | <u>Śauraseni</u> | <u>Eur. Romani</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| gataḥ           | gas           | gaya             | gelo               | "went"         |
| kāṅkataḥ        | kōnyi         | kaniyo           | kangli             | "comb"         |
| mṛtaḥ           | mūū           | muā              | mulo               | "dead"         |
| ūtthiṭaḥ        | athoilus      | uṭhyo            | uṣtilo             | "stood"        |

Similarly, Romani has preserved *-r-* after a preceding labial or dental stop, lost elsewhere (although as with the above shifts, exceptions are found in some of the Dardic languages):

| <u>Sanskrit</u> | <u>Dardic</u> | <u>Śauraseni</u> | <u>Eur. Romani</u> | <u>English</u> |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| mūtram          | mīke          | mut              | muter              | "urine"        |
| trīni           | če            | tīn              | trin               | "three"        |

On the basis of these and other conserved forms, Turner deduced that Romani speakers must have left the Central area before they were lost there, and since the Aśokan Inscription (256 - 237 BC) already reflect this loss, migration out of the area must have pre-dated the middle of the third century before Christ. Woolner, however, questioned this (1912; 1928), saying that "Aśoka's inscriptions cannot be taken as a safe guide to the speech of the lower classes" (1928).

Although the debate between Sampson and Turner was continued in subsequent numbers of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* (Sampson, 1927; Turner, 1927), Turner's position, strongly supported soon after its publication by the Russian linguist Barannikov (1929), has become the most generally accepted among modern students of the language (e.g. Kaufman, 1979; Higgle, 1984), as well as by contemporary scholars of the language in India (e.g. A. Joshi, S.S. Joshi and W.R. Rishi).

#### DOMARI, LOMAVREN AND ROMANI

Turner divided Gypsy as a whole into European, Armenian (Lomavren) and Syrian (Domari) branches, without dividing each further; although *Romani* is not infrequently applied to include all three branches, its initial *R-* qualifies it of course as a label only for the European branch. Sampson indicated that they had not separated from each other before their speakers entered Persia but, as indicated above, Turner did not share that opinion, believing that the split had occurred before migration out of India. If Rishi (1974) and others are correct in

assuming that different groups of Gypsies left India at different times and under different circumstances, it would support Turner's hypothesis of more than one exodus. Turner concluded his study thus (1926:178):

Even if at the time of their exit from the region of the Hindu Kush the Gypsy tribes, represented to-day by the European, Armenian and Syrian groups, were already separated by certain isoglosses, it is nevertheless reasonable to suppose that, if they preserved contact or came again into contact with each other, they exerted a certain amount of mutual linguistic influence.

Such a hypothesis would explain the phonetic differences between the three groups and does not put serious difficulties in the way of accounting for their similarities.

The principal phonological correspondences among the three branches, based primarily on Turner's data, can be summarized as follows:

| <u>Sanskrit</u>                                                | <u>Domari</u> | <u>Lomavren</u> | <u>European Romani</u> | <u>English</u>    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| a. Sanskrit -ṭ(ṭ)- → Domari -t-, Lomavren and European -r- :   |               |                 |                        |                   |
| aṭṭam                                                          | atos          | arav            | varo                   | "flour"           |
| peṭa                                                           | pet           | per             | per                    | "belly"           |
| b. Devoicing in Lomavren and European Romani:                  |               |                 |                        |                   |
| bharāti                                                        | bard-         | phar-           | pher-                  | "fill"            |
| busa                                                           | bis           | phus            | phus                   | "straw"           |
| bhaginī                                                        | bhanu         | -               | phen                   | "sister"          |
| gharma                                                         | gam           | -               | kham                   | "sun"             |
| ghasa                                                          | gas           | khas            | khas                   | "hay"             |
| kaṭra                                                          | gir           | khel            | khil                   | "butter"          |
| c. Sanskrit -v-, -w- → European Romani -b- :                   |               |                 |                        |                   |
| *vaḍḍa                                                         | -             | vorov           | baro                   | "big"             |
| vaṭa                                                           | wat           | -               | baṛ                    | "stone"           |
| varṣa                                                          | wars          | -               | berš                   | "year"            |
| vadhūtī                                                        | wahri         | -               | bori                   | "daughter-in-law" |
| vālah                                                          | wal           | valin           | bal                    | "hair"            |
| vikrīṇāti                                                      | vukn-         | vegn-           | bikin-                 | "sell"            |
| *vīśat                                                         | wis           | -               | biš                    | "twenty"          |
| d. Sanskrit, Domari, Lomavren -h-, -x- → European Romani -Ø- : |               |                 |                        |                   |
| hasati                                                         | hazar-        | xasel-          | as-                    | "laugh"           |
| hima                                                           | hiv           | -               | iv                     | "snow"            |
| bahu(tā)                                                       | bahut         | buhu            | but                    | "much"            |
| lohita                                                         | lohori        | -               | lolo                   | "red"             |
| hasta                                                          | hast          | hath            | vast                   | "hand"            |

e. Sanskrit, Domari, Lomavren -m- → European Romani -v- :

| -ami  | -ami | -em | -av | "1st person sg.<br>present tense" |
|-------|------|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|
| naman | nam  | nam | nav | "name"                            |

f. Sanskrit -ś- → Domari, Lomavren -s- → European Romani -š- :

|                  |         |       |      |            |
|------------------|---------|-------|------|------------|
| naśati           | nastar- | nasu- | naš- | "flee"     |
| śīta             | si      | su    | šil  | "coldness" |
| śata             | sai     | -     | šel  | "hundred"  |
| daśa             | das     | las   | deš  | "ten"      |
| śiras,<br>śīrṣam | siri    | sīs   | šero | "head"     |

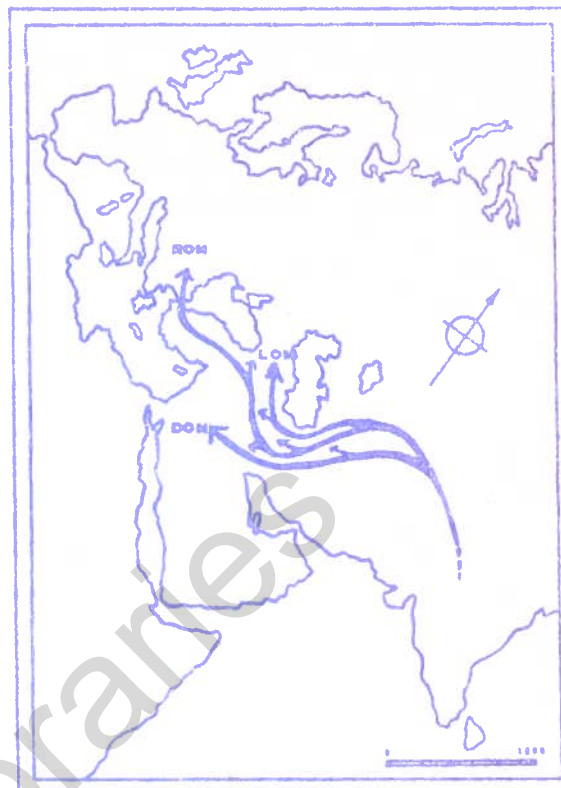
g. Behaviour of the initial vs. medial dental series -n-, -r-, -l-, -d-, -t-:

|                 |      |       |       |                         |
|-----------------|------|-------|-------|-------------------------|
| da-             | der- | lel-  | d-    | "give"                  |
| maṇḍa           | mona | malav | maṇṇo | "bread"                 |
| nāsā,<br>nāsikā | -    | lank  | nakh  | "nose"                  |
| daśa            | das  | las   | deš   | "ten"                   |
| gīti            | gīre | gilav | gili  | "song"                  |
| ḍoma,<br>ḍomba  | dom  | lom   | ṛom   | "Gypsy man;<br>husband" |

On the basis of this last item Turner labelled the three branches *Dom*, *Lom* and *Rom*, although a number of alternate etymologies for the word have been suggested (cf. Rishi, 1975, Kochanowski, 1976) — an issue of some significance since it bears upon the origins of the people themselves<sup>8</sup>. It is probable, however, that on the basis of phonological evidence presented by Gilliat-Smith (1911: 293), who located Balkan dialects of Romani which retained retroflex /ɽ/ as a reflex of Sanskrit /ḍ/, including in the word *Rom* itself, the source in /ḍomba/ is the correct one.



SEPARATION OF THE BRANCHES  
ACCORDING TO SAMPSON

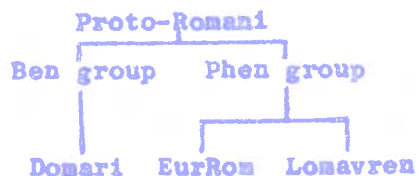


SEPARATION OF THE BRANCHES  
ACCORDING TO TURNER

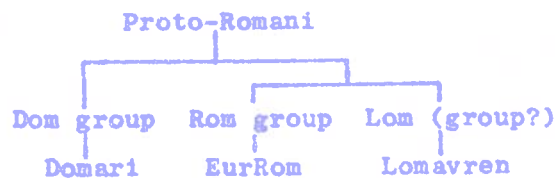
#### DIALECTS WITHIN THE BRANCHES

While differing as to the time and circumstances of their separation, both Sampson and Turner agree as to the grouping of the three divisions:

FIG. 5



SAMPSON'S DIVISIONS



TURNER'S DIVISIONS

No attempt has been made to classify the Domari or Lomavren dialects more narrowly, although a useful survey of non-European Gypsy languages has been provided by Kenrick (1976b). Some of the groups listed as residing in specific countries include for Egypt the Helebi, Ghagar and Nawar, for Iran the Kurbati,

Zargari, Qinati, Yürük and Koli, for Syria and Palestine the Kurhati, Beirut, Nawar and Nablos, and for Caucasia and eastern Turkey the Kara-chi, the Beludji, the Bosha and the Marashi. From their name, the Helebi and Nawar of Egypt probably migrated there from Syria. The Bosha are Central Gypsy (Lomavren) speakers (Patkanoff, 1908-9; le Redžosko, 1984); but what is noteworthy is the presence of two Romani (*i.e.* European or Western) Gypsy-speaking populations in the Middle East: the Ghagar in Egypt (Sampson, 1928; Hanna, 1982), and the Zargari in Iran (Windfuhr, 1970). Both speak Western dialects of a Balkan type, and both probably descend from prisoners of war taken by the Turks in the 17th century and brought back out of Europe. A great deal more work needs to be done on the Central and Eastern Gypsy languages along the lines of that being undertaken by Canova (1981) and Nicholson (1984); while some of these are clearly distinct, labels applied to others may prove to be more geographical than linguistic, referring variously to the same dialect.

Some efforts to classify the dialects of European Romani have also been more geographically determined than linguistically. Thus Clébert (1963) divides them into Finnish, Welsh, Hungarian, German, English, Catalan and Andaluz, for example. The attempts of earlier, better qualified scholars such as Miklosich were similarly broadly geographic. The first classification based upon purely linguistic criteria was that of Kochanowski (1963), who divided them into two groups: *Vlax* and *non-Vlax*, with the latter subdivided into four further groups (Bernard Gilliat-Smith had already recognized the *Vlax/non-Vlax* distinction several decades before it was elaborated upon by Kochanowski):

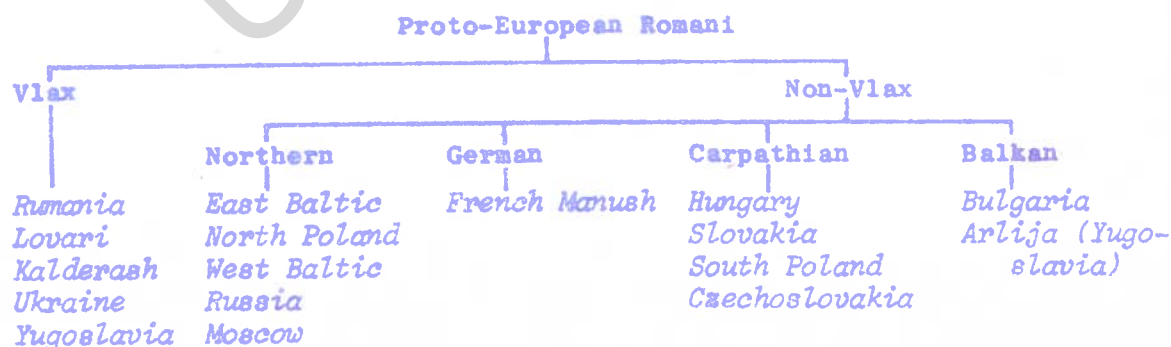


FIG. 6. CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO KOCHANOWSKI

A classification by Kenrick (Hancock, 1975:6) also divides the European dialects into two branches, on the basis of the development of *-s-* → *-h-* in a number of dialects (*cf.* *Vlax sam* 'we are', *Ėurlasa* 'with (a) knife', *Sinte*

ham, ħuriaha):

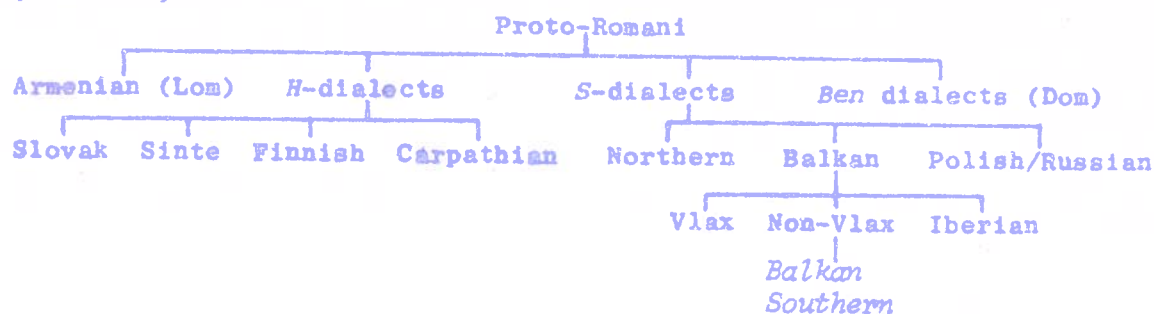


FIG. 7. CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO KENRICK

Wentzel's classification (1976) also sets up an overall two-way division within the European group, Northern and Southern:

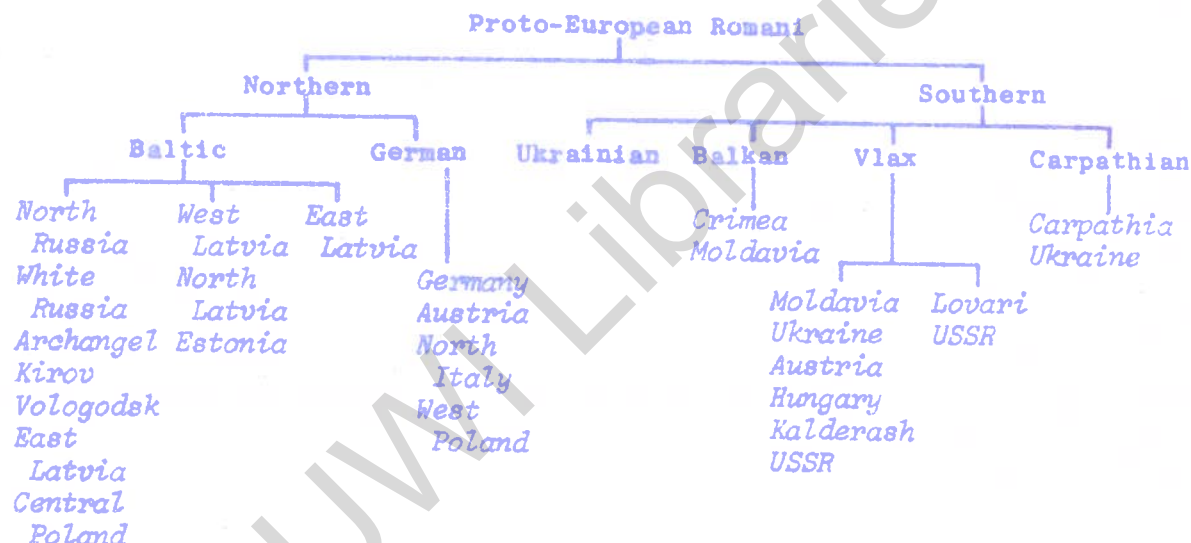


FIG. 8. CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO WENTZEL

Terrence Kaufman's classification (1979) is the only one to date based upon extensive comparative research using all available data on a wide number of European dialects. Kaufman finds earlier schemata to be under-differentiated and to rely too heavily on geographical criteria. Like Kenrick, he acknowledges that the classification is complicated by cross-dialect interference, and that this cannot be satisfactorily indicated on family-tree charts of this kind. To date, his findings indicate the following classification of dialects within the European branch:

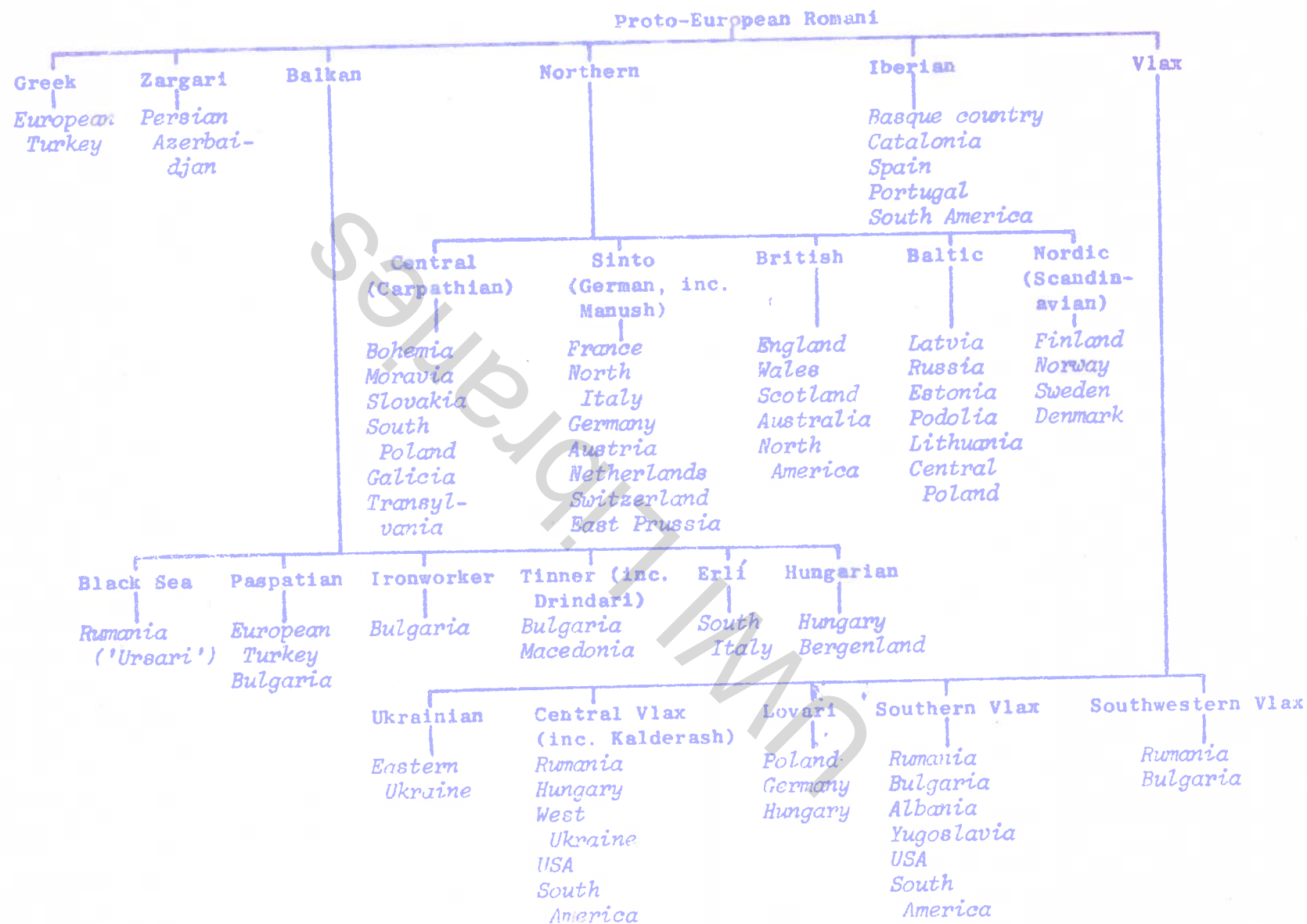


FIG. 9. CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO KAUFMAN

#### FURTHER THEORIES OF ROMANI ORIGINS

In a number of studies published during the past decade a small group of Indian scholars has tried to show a specifically Panjabi (i.e. Śaurasenī) origin for Romani; thus A. Joshi maintains (1981:39) that it is

...evident that the origin and closest proximity of Romani can only be found in Apabhraṃśa dialect, particularly Śaurasenī.

Where these studies differ from others is in the particularly Indian perspective they provide upon an essentially Indian issue, and in their authors' being able to examine cultural and religious parallels from a wholly Indian aspect not possible for European scholars, to support their claims.

Indian scholarship in this connection is an intriguing combination of subjectiveness and careful documentation<sup>9</sup>. The overall consensus seems to be that Gypsies descend from the Rajput, Jat and Kṣatriya warriors, along with their camp followers who consisted of Lohars, Banjaras, Saudagars and others who were taken prisoner during the Islamic invasions of the area nine centuries ago (Rishi, 1983:45). This hypothesis was developed earlier by Kochanowski (1967), who in addition suggested two distinct racial origins, the fair-skinned Kṣatriyas and the dark-skinned Scythians to account for the range of physical type and complexion evident among the modern Gypsy populations (1968); more recent work in the same area has been undertaken by Clarke (1971). The possibility that the ancestors of the Romani people were warriors, rather than "mountebanks and buffoons" has, of course, a certain appeal to Gypsies themselves.

Ronald Lee (in Hancock, 1975:55) believes that the original homeland of the Gypsies was in the Bactrian Steppes, under the cultural influence of the Greek principalities of Bactria until these were demolished by the invasions of Yüe-Chi, who drove them southwards into India. The movement out of India, Lee believes, occurred many generations later over a period of about a century and led through Persia and the Middle East into the Byzantine Empire.

Harry Bryer has suggested (1981), on the basis of linguistic considerations, that the present-day Gypsy population represents the original Aryan people in culture and language, having preserved their identity as a result of continually being on the move, and therefore less subject to acculturation to other societies.

Scholars such as these and others nevertheless do not dispute the Indic character of the Romani language, and it is in this area that their arguments receive the least support. But the possibility that Romani split from the

Indo-Iranian core is not entirely untenable. Over a century ago Curzon wrote at length about "the extension of the Sanskrit language and Aryan civilization over Asia and Europe" (1856:183). Petersen (1912:417-418) emphasized that

As long as the Indian Aryans dwelt together with the Iranians toward the north-west of the Punjab, they were virtually one people, and only after they separated in order that one part might invade India, did large differences of language develop.

The same point was raised by Pierre Maile (in *Etudes Tsiganes* for 1955), following the observations of Woollner, discussed in Bloch (1965:27), who referred to the fact that in earlier times the Indo-Aryan linguistic frontier extended much further to the West. Bloch (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-12) also noted that

Traces not only of Aryans, but even of the same tribes which brought Sanskrit to India, are therefore found in Asia prior to the 14th Century [BC]. It is, however, still impossible to make sure whether the invasion of India took place later, or whether we have to do with tribes which followed later, or even had returned from India.

Echoing Bloch, Emeneau (1966:132) said "Frankly we are totally uninformed of the history of the migration [into India]".

Bloch (1946) and Berger (1959) have examined the possibility of morphological and lexical influence upon Romani from Brahui and Burushaski — both non-Indo-European languages spoken in southern Pakistan and the eastern Hindu Kush respectively. Confirmation of the presence of elements from these would argue strongly for a more easterly or southeasterly origin for Romani. Another weak point in the argument for an origin outside of India would seem to be that the Prākṛits retained their three-gender system even into the Mediaeval period, and Romani, like the modern Indian languages, has only two genders (although Domari has vestiges of a neuter gender (Macalister, 1914:9), suggesting separation from India at a different time from Lomavren or European Romani). Unless this were lost independently following some kind of Stammbaum principle, which would have to account for the very high rate of innovated shared gender selections of the earlier neuter items in both European Romani and the neo-Indian languages, then it must be concluded that the ancestor of European Romani (and possibly Lomavren) was still being spoken in India at the time of the loss of the third gender. Modern scholarship generally favours a later (*i.e.* 9th, 10th or 11th Century) migration out of India rather than the 5th Century migration supported by the Victorian scholars, based on the account of the

poet Firdausi<sup>10</sup>. One modern Romanologue who does support the theory of an earlier rather than a later migration is Kenrick, on the basis of the paucity of Arabic-derived items in the Romani lexicon (1976a:3):

The Romanies of Europe must have come through Iran *before 600 A.D.* — the first Arab invasions — this is the only possible explanation for the large number of Iranian words and the small (infinitesimal) number of Arabic words found in the Romani vocabulary.

More recently Kaufman (1984:12) pointedly stated that

There is *no way* Romani could have avoided Arabic loanwords unless it had entered Iran and left again before 700 AD. Speculations that do not operate within these constraints as axiomatic are idle; it is totally irrelevant that there may be some historical evidence of troubles in, and outmigrations from India around 1000 AD, and I am getting bored with hearing again and again the speculation that the Gypsies may have left India at such a late date.

It is evident that the debate surrounding the ultimate origin of the Gypsy populations and the date or dates of their separation from the other Indic peoples has still not been fully resolved.

Whether or not the three branches do in fact represent dialects related to the same people and the same sociohistorical phenomena, or whether, being the only demonstrably Indic languages to be found outside of India the three groups have been fortuitously lumped together as representing one historically unified population, remains to be shown.

## COMPARATIVE DATA FROM THE THREE BRANCHES

## A. 100-item list of cognates

| <u>English</u>     | <u>Sanskrit</u> | <u>Hindi</u> | <u>Shiaa</u> | <u>Domari</u> | <u>Lomavren</u> | <u>Eur. Romani</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. all             | sarva           | sārā         | buṭu         | gis           | save            | sa                 |
| 2. ask             | pr̥c̥ch-        | pūc̥h-       | beč-         | sayil-ker     | pučhav-         | pučh-              |
| 3. beat            | mṛ-             | mār-         | mar-         | mar-          | mari-           | mar-               |
| 4. bed             | sthāna          | thān         | šēn          | tan           | čiri            | than               |
| 5. belt            | -               | petī         | ḍakbōni      | -             | khašikh         | kuštik             |
| 6. big             | vaḍra           | baṛā         | baṛu         | tilla         | vorov           | baro               |
| 7. bread           | maṇḍa           | māṇḍā        | tiki         | mona          | malav           | maṇḍo              |
| 8. break           | bhagna-         | bhāg-        | phut-        | bag-          | bakhot-         | phag-              |
| 9. breast          | čučī            | čučī         | čučī         | čič           | -               | čučī               |
|                    | kol             | kole         | guṭūṭī       | xri           | koli            | kolin              |
| 10. bring          | ani-            | ān-          | aṭ-          | nan-          | an-             | an-                |
| 11. brother        | bhrātṛ          | bhāī         | zá           | bar           | phal            | phral              |
| 12. butter         | ghṛta           | ghī          | gīh          | gir           | tel             | khil               |
| 13. cold           | śīṭala          | sīṭal        | čhāū         | silda         | su              | šil/šidro          |
| 14. come           | bhav-           | ho-          | ō-           | au-           | av-             | av-                |
| 15. cry/weep       | ruv-            | ro-          | r-           | rou-          | erov-           | rov-               |
| 16. cut            | činat-          | čina-        | čir-         | čin-          | čin-            | čin-               |
| 17. dance          | krīḍ-           | khel-        | -            | -             | khel-           | khel-              |
|                    |                 | nāč-         | naṭ-         | nač-          | -               | -                  |
| 18. descend        | -               | uttar-       | khir-        | xul-          | xol-            | xul-               |
| 19. die            | mṛ-             | mar-         | mīr-         | mar-          | mar-            | mer-               |
| 20. drink          | pib-            | pī-          | py-          | pi-           | pi-             | pi-                |
| 21. eat            | khād-           | khā-         | kh-          | kar-          | xath-           | x-                 |
| 22. egg            | aṇḍa            | aṇḍā         | hanū         | ana           | anlu            | aṇḍo               |
| 23. excreta        | gūtha           | ghūr         | -            | xal           | xenav           | khul               |
| 24. eye            | akṣi            | ām̐kh        | ačhī         | iki           | akhi            | yakh               |
| 25. face/<br>mouth | mukha           | mum̐h        | mukh         | mu/mi         | mui             | mui                |
| 26. fall           | pat-            | paṛ-         | p-           | ku-           | par-            | per-               |
| 27. fish           | matsya          | maččh        | čhuma        | kirwa         | mančhav         | mačho              |
| 28. five           | pañča           | pāñč         | poš          | pandž         | pendž           | pandž              |
| 29. flour          | -               | aṭṭa         | āṭa          | atos          | arav            | aṇḍo               |
| 30. foot           | pāda            | pām̐v        | pai          | pau           | pav             | piṇḍo              |
| 31. four           | čatvāri         | čār          | čār          | star          | četar           | štar               |

|             |        |        |        |        |          |             |
|-------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|-------------|
| 32. full    | bhṛ    | bhar   | purīlo | barda  | por      | pherdo      |
| 33. give    | dā-    | de-    | d-     | de-    | le-      | d-          |
| 34. go      | yā-    | jā-    | bož-   | dza-   | dza-     | dž-         |
| 35. god     | deva   | dev    | xudai  | huya   | leval    | devel       |
| 36. Gypsy   | ?doma  | ?dom   | -      | dom    | lom      | rom         |
| 37. hair    | bala   | bāl    | bālu   | wali   | valis    | bal         |
| 38. hand    | hasta  | hāth   | hath   | hast   | hath     | vast        |
| 39. hay     | ghāsa  | ghās   | -      | bis    | khas     | khas        |
| 40. head    | śiras  | sir    | śis    | siri   | sis      | šero        |
| 41. hear    | śru-   | sun-   | paruž- | sin-   | səkh-    | šun-        |
| 42. horse   | -      | ghoṭa  | ašap   | gori   | khori    | khoro       |
| 43. hot     | tapta  | tattā  | tato   | tata   | tataṽ    | tato        |
| 44. house   | gṛha   | ghar   | goś    | kuri   | khar     | kher        |
| 45. hundred | sata   | sai    | šal    | sai    | sai      | šel         |
| 46. hunger  | bubhuk | bhūk   | unyāl  | ibka   | bukh     | bokh        |
| 47. I       | mayā   | main   | mō     | ama    | ma       | me          |
| 48. kill    | kuṭṭ-  | kuṭ-   | khun-  | -      | kur-     | kur-        |
| 49. kiss    | čumb-  | čum-   | māči-  | imčir- | čum-     | čumid-      |
| 50. knife   | ksūri  | čurī   | kaṭār  | čiri   | čuri     | čuri        |
| 51. know    | jān-   | jān-   | dašt-  | džan-  | zan-     | džan-       |
| 52. leather | čarman | čam    | čom    | kal    | čam      | čam         |
| 53. louse   | yūka   | jūm    | džu    | džui   | dživ     | džuv        |
| 54. make/do | kṛ-    | kar-   | th-    | ker-   | kar-     | ker-        |
| 55. man     | manuṣa | mānuṣ  | manūžu | manus  | manus    | manuš       |
| 56. middle  | madhya | majhar | māža   | mandž  | mandž    | mindž       |
| 57. milk    | duḡdha | dūdh   | duth   | kir    | luth     | thud        |
| 58. mother  | -      | dai    | ādže   | dai    | deth     | dai/dei     |
| 59. little  | tīksna | jarā   | čunu   | čina   | džuni-ma | tikno/tsino |
| 60. much    | bahu   | bahut  | buṭu   | bol    | buhu     | but         |
| 61. needle  | sūčī   | sūī    | sū     | su     | suz      | suv         |
| 62. negator | na     | na     | na     | na/la  | na/ma    | na/ma       |
| 63. night   | rakta  | rakt   | rāti   | arat   | arat     | rat/ryat    |
| 64. nose    | nāsā   | nāk    | notu   | pirn   | lank     | nakh        |
| 65. oats    | yava   | jav    | -      | džau   | džav     | džov        |
| 66. one     | eka    | ek     | ekh    | yikak  | ak       | ekh/yekh    |
| 67. our     | amhara | hamārā | asō    | aminka | mer      | amaro       |

|               |           |        |         |         |          |         |
|---------------|-----------|--------|---------|---------|----------|---------|
| 68. peasant   | gārhya    | gajjha | -       | kadža   | gadžav   | gadžo   |
| 69. penis     | *kharh    | kārḥ   | -       | gar     | -        | kar     |
|               | pela      | pel    | -       | -       | phelav   | pelo    |
| 70. put       | ksip      | dhar-  | čur-    | tau-    | thav-    | tho-    |
| 71. ram       | varkara   | bakarā | karāḥ   | bakra   | bakra    | bakro   |
| 72. run       | naś-      | nās-   | uč-     | rau-    | nas-     | naš-    |
| 73. salt      | lavana    | lon    | luni    | lon     | nol      | lon     |
| 74. say       | bhaṇ-     | bhan-  | raž-    | čar-    | phan-    | phen-   |
| 75. see       | drś-      | dekh-  | čak-    | lah-    | lekh-    | dikh-   |
| 76. sell      | vikrīṇ-   | bikn-  | krin-   | kun-    | vegn-    | bikin-  |
| 77. sick      | *na-svata | naśvar | galīs   | mišta   | nasvav   | nasvalo |
| 78. sleep     | svap-     | so-    | so-     | suč-    | sev-     | sov-    |
| 79. song      | gīti      | gīt    | gai     | gref    | gilav    | gili    |
| 80. speak     | prakṛ-    | kar-   | raž-    | čar-    | pakr-    | raker-  |
| 81. steal     | čur-      | čor-   | čor-    | kaut-   | čain-    | čor-    |
| 82. stone     | vaṭa      | baṭ    | baṭṭ    | waṭ     | var      | baṛ     |
| 83. straw     | busa      | bhūsā  | muthūše | bis     | pus      | phus    |
| 84. sun       | gharma    | ghām   | sūri    | gam     | gam      | kham    |
| 85. take      | labh-     | le-    | giṇ-    | nan-    | le-      | l-      |
| 86. ten       | daśa      | das    | dai     | das     | las      | deš     |
| 87. three     | tri       | tīn    | čē      | taran   | tran     | trin    |
| 88. tree/wood | kaṣṭha    | kāth   | kāṭha   | kašt    | kah      | kašt    |
| 89. twenty    | vimsati   | bīs    | bīh     | wi      | vist     | biš     |
| 90. two       | dva       | do     | du      | di      | lui      | dui/do  |
| 91. up        | upari     | ūpar   | omara   | -       | upra     | opre    |
| 92. walnut    | akōṭa     | akhroṭ | ačhol   | baginna | ankor    | akhor   |
| 93. want      | mārg-     | māng-  | zarūr-  | mang-   | mang-    | mang-   |
| 94. wash      | dhāv-     | dho-   | tam-    | dau-    | thovdžu- | tho-    |
| 95. water     | pānīya    | pānī   | voi     | pani    | pani     | pani    |
| 96. wheat     | godhūma   | gehūm  | gum     | gesu    | giu      | giv     |
| 97. where     | kva       | kahām  | kōna    | ka      | katel    | kai     |
| 98. worth     | molla     | mol    | lāyek   | karri   | mol      | mol     |
| 99. you (sg)  | tvam      | tū     | tu      | atme    | tu       | tu      |
| 100. you (pl) | tusme     | tum    | tso     | -       | -        | tume    |

B. The *be*-verb (present tense)

|          | S1   | S2    | S3   | P1   | P2     | P3    | <i>Isn't</i> |
|----------|------|-------|------|------|--------|-------|--------------|
| Vlax     | sim  | san   | si   | sam  | san    | si    | nai          |
| Sinte    | hom  | hal   | hi   | ham  | han    | hi    | nane         |
| Baltic   | isom | san   | isi  | sam  | san    | isi   | nane         |
| Balkan   | sim  | syam  | si   | syam | syanas | si    | nanai        |
| Southern | isom | isan  | isi  | isam | isen   | isi   | na           |
| Czech    | som  | sal   | hin  | sam  | san    | hin   | nane         |
| Domari   | homi | hweki | hori | honi | hwesi  | hondi | inhe'        |
| Lomavren | em   | es    | e    | enk' | ek'    | en    | na           |

## C. Present indicative suffixes

|          | S1   | S2   | S3   | P1    | P2   | P3    |
|----------|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| Vlax     | -av  | -es  | -el  | -as   | -en  | -en   |
| Sinte    | -ava | -eha | -ela | -aha  | -ena | -ena  |
| Baltic   | -ov  | -es  | -el  | -as   | -en  | -en   |
| Balkan   | -a   | -isa | -ila | -asa  | -ina | -ina  |
| Southern | -ani | -esa | -ela | -asa  | -ena | -ena  |
| Czech    | -av  | -es  | -el  | -as   | -en  | -en   |
| Domari   | -ami | -eki | -ari | -ani  | -asi | -andi |
| Lomavren | -em  | -es  | -e   | -enk' | -ek' | -en   |

## D. Preterite suffixes

|          | S1  | S2     | S3     | P1     | P2     | P3     |
|----------|-----|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Vlax     | -em | -(y)an | -(y)as | -(y)am | -(y)an | -(in)e |
| Sinte    | -om | -al    | -as    | -am    | -an    | -an    |
| Baltic   | -om | -yan   | -ya    | -yam   | -yan   | -e     |
| Balkan   | -im | -yan   | -yas   | -yam   | -yanas | -i     |
| Southern | -um | -an    | -as    | -am    | -an    | -e     |
| Czech    | -om | -al    | -a     | -am    | -an    | -e     |
| Domari   | -om | -or    | -a     | -en    | -es    | -e     |
| Lomavren | -ei | -eir   | -er    | -eink' | -eik'  | -ein   |

## E. Pluperfect suffix (or preverbal marker)

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Vlax, Sinte, Balkan, Southern | -as |
| Baltic, Czech, Domari         | ∅   |
| Lomavren                      | gə  |

## F. Possessive pronominal forms

|          | S1      | S2      | S3m     | S3f     | P1           | P2           | P3          |
|----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| Vlax     | muḡo    | čiro    | lesko   | lako    | amaro        | tumaro       | lengo       |
| Sinte    | miro    | tiro    | leskero | lakero  | amaro        | tumaro       | lengero     |
| Baltic   | miro    | tiro    | leskiro | lakiro  | amaro        | tumaro       | lengiro     |
| Balkan   | moḡu    | toḡu    | lisku   | laku    | amaru        | tumaru       | lengu       |
| Southern | miro    | tiro    | lesko   | lako    | amaro        | tumaro       | lengo       |
| Czech    | miro    | tiro    | leskero | lakero  | amaro        | tumaro       | lengero     |
| Domari   | -m      | -r      | -s      | -s      | -man         | -ran         | -san        |
| Lomavren | meravis | teravid | havavin | havavin | meravtontsəs | teravtontsəd | hevavtontsə |

G. Masculine nominal declension singular: "man" <sup>11</sup>

|          | Nominative | Accusative | Prepositional | Genitive    | Ablative   | Instrumental |
|----------|------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| Vlax     | manuš      | manušes    | manušeste     | manušesko   | manušestar | manušesa     |
| Sinte    | manuš      | manušes    | manušeste     | manušeskero | manušester | manušelja    |
| Baltic   | manuš      | manušes    | manušeste     | manušesko   | manušestar | manušesa     |
| Balkan   | manuš      | manušis    | manušisti     | manušisku   | manušistar | manušisa     |
| Southern | manuš      | manušes    | manušeste     | manušesko   | manušestar | manušestar   |
| Czech    | manuš      | manušes    | manušeste     | manušeskero | manušestar | manušcha     |
| Domari   | manus      | manses     | mansesta      | manseskera  | mansesk    | mansesma     |
| Lomavren | manus      | manus      | manusu        | manusu      | manuse     | manusov      |

## H. Masculine nominal declension plural: "men"

|          | Nominative | Accusative | Prepositional | Genitive    | Ablative   | Instrumental |
|----------|------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| Vlax     | manuš      | manušen    | manušende     | manušengo   | manušendar | manušensa    |
| Sinte    | manuša     | manušen    | manušende     | manušengero | manušender | manušensa    |
| Baltic   | manuša     | manušen    | manušende     | manušengo   | manušendar | manušensa    |
| Balkan   | manuš      | manušin    | manušindi     | manušingu   | manušindar | manušinsa    |
| Southern | manuš      | manušen    | manušende     | manušengo   | manušendar | manušendar   |
| Czech    | manuša     | manušen    | manušende     | manušengero | manušendar | manušensa    |
| Domari   | manuse     | manuse     | mansenta      | mansenkera  | mansenk    | mansamma     |
| Lomavren | ∅          | ∅          | ∅             | ∅           | ∅          | ∅            |

## I. Feminine nominal declension singular: "knife"

|          | Nominative | Accusative | Prepositional | Genitive  | Ablative | Instrumental |
|----------|------------|------------|---------------|-----------|----------|--------------|
| Vlax     | šuri       | šuria      | šuriate       | šuriako   | šuriatar | šuriasa      |
| Sinte    | čuri       | čuria      | čuriate       | čuriakero | čuriater | čuriaha      |
| Baltic   | čuri       | čuria      | čuriate       | čuriako   | čuriatar | čuriasa      |
| Balkan   | čuri       | čuria      | čuriate       | čuriaku   | čuriatar | čuriasa      |
| Southern | čuri       | čuria      | čuriate       | čuriako   | čuriatar | čuriatar     |
| Czech    | čuri       | čuria      | čuriate       | čuriakero | čuriatar | čuriaha      |
| Domari   | čiri       | čiria      | čiriata       | čiriakera | čiriak   | čiriamma     |
| Lomavren | čuri       | čuri       | čuru          | čuru      | čure     | čurov        |

## J. Feminine nominal declension plural: "knives"

|          | Nominative | Accusative | Prepositional | Genitive   | Ablative  | Instrumental |
|----------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Vlax     | šuria      | šurian     | šuriande      | šuriango   | šuriandar | šuriasa      |
| Sinte    | čuria      | čurian     | čuriande      | čuriango   | čuriander | čuriasa      |
| Baltic   | čuria      | čurian     | čuriande      | čuriango   | čuriandar | čuriasa      |
| Balkan   | čuria      | čurian     | čuriandi      | čuriangu   | čuriandar | čuriasa      |
| Southern | čuria      | čurian     | čuriande      | čuriango   | čuriandar | čuriandar    |
| Czech    | čuria      | čurian     | čuriande      | čuriangero | čuriandar | čuriasa      |
| Domari   | čirie      | čirie      | čirienta      | čiriankera | čirienk   | čiriamma     |
| Lomavren | ∅          | ∅          | ∅             | ∅          | ∅         | ∅            |

## K. Comparative syntax

(a)

English: A<sup>1</sup> great<sup>2</sup> man<sup>3</sup> has<sup>4</sup> two<sup>5</sup> sons<sup>6</sup>Vlax: ekh<sup>1</sup> baro<sup>2</sup> manuš<sup>3</sup> si-les<sup>4</sup> dui<sup>5</sup> rakle<sup>6</sup>Domari: ak<sup>1</sup> tilla<sup>2</sup> manusaki<sup>3</sup> di<sup>5</sup> potra<sup>6</sup> abas<sup>4</sup>Lomavren: vorov<sup>2</sup> manusavin<sup>3</sup> ake<sup>1</sup> luiak<sup>3</sup> innav<sup>6</sup> ge<sup>0</sup> tarena<sup>4</sup>

(b)

English: The<sup>1</sup> father<sup>2</sup> spoke<sup>3</sup> to<sup>4</sup> the<sup>3</sup> sons<sup>6</sup>Vlax: o<sup>1</sup> dad<sup>2</sup> mothodyas<sup>3</sup> le<sup>5</sup> rakleng<sup>4</sup>Domari: boi<sup>2</sup> čirda<sup>3</sup> potrankaras<sup>4</sup>Lomavren: bape<sup>2</sup> ge<sup>0</sup> kakre<sup>3</sup> innəvtot'se<sup>4</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>According to Harriott (1830:520), Ralph Volaterianus declared that Gypsies "first proceeded from among the Uxii, a people of Persis or Persia". *Indiens* is reported as one of the names given to Gypsies in France in 1632.

<sup>2</sup>For example, the report of the Roma Festival held in Chandigarh, published in the December 1st, 1983 issue of *Banjara Monthly* includes

This was the second time Roma (Gypsies) took pilgrimage to India, their Baro Than (ancestral land), met their MOTHER and THAKRANI (Queen) Mrs. Indira Gandhi, after their exile from India for 1,000 years. This is how the Gypsy participants at the 2nd International Roma Festival at Chandigarh expressed their sentiments, love and adoration toward India as their original homeland, and Mrs. Gandhi as its head (p. 5).

The Indian Banjara Association maintains ties with the European Romani Union, the assumption in both groups being that the Banjara are legitimately related to the Romani people through historical ties. A grammar of Lamani, the Banjara language, was written in 1970 by Trail; it bears little similarity with Romani.

<sup>3</sup>This confusion is still evident today, even among Indo-Europeanists. In a recently-published linguistics textbook, a fifteen-line poem about shoplifters and pickpockets is presented as an example of "gypsy slang", though it contains not a single word of Romani (Lehmann, 1983:214).

<sup>4</sup>The difference between "north-western" as a geographical, and "north-western" as a linguistic, term, should be clearly understood in discussions about area of origin. It should also be pointed out here that some of the established labels in Indian linguistics are historically pejorative (e.g. Kafir = 'infidel', Paīśācī = 'demon, imp', &c.), and should perhaps be changed by scholars in this field.

<sup>5</sup>Although Pott had examined that branch as early as 1846 (see Bibliography).

<sup>6</sup>In fact the Lomavren word for "sister" is *phal-čhoki*, literally "brother" + "female", an incoining typical of restructured dialects of Romani (see Hancock, 1977).

<sup>7</sup>The Gypsy form of this item is Domari, not European.

<sup>8</sup>More recent discussions presenting social and linguistic evidence for the ancestors of the Gypsies being Dom are found in Lesný (1941) and Hübschmannová (1972).

<sup>9</sup>An example of the former is found in Rishi (1976), in an article entitled "Panjabi love for buffalo's milk", which concludes "The very fact that Roma love buffaloes for their milk proves their origin in the Panjab, where till today, every Panjabi would forego anything else, but not buffalo's milk".

20

<sup>10</sup>In his *Shah Nameh* the Persian poet refers to a request made by King Bahram Gur to the ruler of India, Shankhala, for musicians and entertainers. Some twelve thousand supposedly arrived in Persia, but neglected the land they were given and were finally sent off to make a living by their own means. This account refers to the Sāsānian dynasty; Bahram Gur ruled in AD 420. The account is given in the original Persian, with a translation, in Harriot (1830:527-528).

<sup>11</sup>Accusatives are not usually inflected for case, unless (for some dialects) they are <+ animate>.

UWI Libraries

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

- ACTON, Thomas, (ed.), 1971. *Current changes amongst British Gypsies and their place in international patterns of development*. Oxford.
- AICHELE, W., 1957. "Die ursprünglich aspirierten Medien der Zigeunersprache". *Zeitschrift für Phonetik*, 10(2):101-107.
- ASCOLI, Graziadio I., 1865. *Zigeunerisches: besonders auch als Nachtrag zu dem Pott'schen Werke 'Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien'*. Halle: E. Heynemann Verlag.
- BACMEISTER, P., 1777. [Anmerkung über die Entdeckungen Rüdiger's]. *Nordischen Beiträge*, 3:96.
- BARANNIKOV, A.P., 1929. *Об изучении Цыган СССР*. Moscow. (Republished in English under the title "On the study of Gypsies of the USSR", *Roma*, 1(2):15-16 (1975).
- BATAILLARD, Paul, 1875. "The affinities of the Gipsies with the Jats". *The Academy*, 7:583-585.
- BEAMES, John, 1872-1879. *A comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India*. London: Trübner & Co.
- BERGER, H., 1969. "Die burušaski-Lehnwörter in der Zigeunersprache". *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 3(1):17-43.
- BISCHOFF, Ferdinand, 1827. *Deutsch-Zigeunerisches Wörterbuch*. Ilmenau: B.F. Voigt Verlag.
- BLOCH, Jules, 1920. *La formation de la langue marathe*. Paris.
- BLOCH, Jules, 1946. "Brahui et tsigane". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* pp. 199-201.
- BOPP, M., 1836. Review of GRAFFUNDER (1835), in *Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 38/39:302-311.
- BRYANT, Jacob, 1785. "Collections on the Zingara or Gypsey language". *Archæologia*, 7:387-394.
- BRYER, Harry, 1981. "The key to Etruscan". Library of Congress copy, privately circulated.
- BURTON, Sir Richard F., 1851. *Sindh, and the races that inhabit the valley of the Indus*. London:
- CANOVA, Giovanni, 1981. "Note sulle tradizioni zingare in Egitto attraverso la testimonianza di un capo Nawar", *Lacio Drom*, 17(6):4-25.
- CLARKE, A., 1971. "The sero-anthropology of human population groups with special reference to European Gypsies". in ACTON, 1971:19-24.
- CLÉBERT, Jean-Paul, 1963. *The Gypsies*. London: Vista Books.

- CURZON, A., 1856. "On the original extension of the Sanskrit language over certain portions of Asia and Europe; and on the ancient Aryans, Indians or Hindus of India-proper", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 16: 172-200.
- DAMES, M.L., 1914. Review of MacAlister (1914). *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914:1114-1119.
- DIX, Carol, 1975. *The Camargue*. London: Victor Gollancz.
- DOBA, Capt. Sz. von, 1763. [Notice on Valyi's findings], in *La Gazette de Vienne* for November 6th.
- EMENEAU, M.B., 1966. "The dialects of Old Indo-Aryan", in H. BIRNBAUM & J. PUHVEL, (eds.), *Ancient Indo-European dialects*. Berkeley, California UP, pp. 123-138.
- FINCK, Franz N., 1907. *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*. St. Petersburg.
- GILLIAT-SMITH, Bernard, 1911. "Cerebral /ɾ/ in Romani", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, n.s., 4:292-296.
- GILLIAT-SMITH, Bernard, 1927. "Notes on Dr. J. Sampson's 'The dialect of the Gypsies of Wales'". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series, 6(1):22-32.
- GOBINEAU, Count Joseph de, 1857. "Persische Studien I: die Wanderstämme Persiens". *Zeitschrift der deutsche morgenlandische Gesellschaft*, 11:689-699.
- GOEJE, Michiel de, 1903. *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. See also MACRITCHIE (1886).
- GRAFFUNDER, Alfred, 1835. *Ueber die Sprache der Zigeuner: eine grammatische Skizze*. Erfurt: Otto Verlag.
- GRELLMANN, Heinerich M.G., 1783. *Die Zigeuner: ein historischer Versuch über die Lebensart und Verfassung, Sitten und Schicksale dieses Volks in Europa, nebst ihrem Ursprunge*. Leipzig.
- GRIERSON, George A., 1887a. "Gypsies in England and in India". *Indian Antiquary*, 16:35-41.
- GRIERSON, George A., 1887b. "Arabic and Persian references to Gypsies". *Indian Antiquary*, 16:257-258.
- GRIERSON, George A., 1908. "India and the Gypsies". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, new series, 1(1):400.
- GRIERSON, George A., 1903-1922. *Linguistic survey of India*. Calcutta.
- GRIERSON, Mrs. G., 1886-1887. "An English-Gypsy index". *Indian Antiquary*, vols. 15 and 16 *passim*.
- HANCOCK, Ian, 1975. *Problems in the creation of a standard dialect of Romanes*. ERIC Document ED-121-057. Washington.
- HANCOCK, Ian, 1977. "The social and linguistic development of Angloromani". *Social Science Research Council on Sociolinguistics Working Paper No. 38*.
- HANCOCK, Ian, (ed.), 1979. *Romani sociolinguistics*. The Hague: Mouton.
- HANNA, Nabil S., 1982. *Ghagar of Sett Guiranh: a study of a Gypsy community in Egypt*. Publication of the American University in Cairo, Vol. 5, No. 1.

- HARRIOTT, John S., 1830. "Observations on the Oriental origin of the Romnichal, or tribe miscalled Gypsey and Bohemian". *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 2:518-558.
- HIGGIE, Brenda, 1984. *Proto-Romanes phonology*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.
- HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, Milena, 1972. "What can sociology suggest about the origin of the Roms?". *Archiv Orientální*, 40:51-64.
- JOSHI, A., 1981. "Romani as a mediaeval Aryan language". *Roma*, 6(1):37-39.
- JOSHI, S.S., 1976. "Phonological patterns in Romani and Punjabi". *Roma*, 2(2):31-37.
- JÜLG, Bernhard, in J.S. VATER, 1847. *Litteratur der Grammatiken, Lexica und Wörtersammlungen aller Sprachen der Erde*. Berlin.
- KAUFMAN, Terry, 1972. "Gypsy wanderings and Romani linguistic borrowings". Privately circulated manuscript.
- KAUFMAN, Terry, 1979. Review of W.R. RISHI's *Multilingual Romani dictionary* (Chandigarh, 1974), in HANCOCK (1979:131-144).
- KAUFMAN, Terry, 1984. "Explorations in Proto-Gypsy phonology and classification". Paper read at the Sixth *South Asian Languages Analysis Roundtable*, Austin, Texas, May 25th-26th.
- KENRICK, Donald, 1976a. "A contribution to the early history of the Romani people". *Occasional Paper of the Romani Institute No. 3*. London.
- KENRICK, D., 1976b. "Romanies in the Middle East". *Roma*, 1(4):5-8, 2(1):30-36 and 2(2):23-39.
- KOCHANOWSKI, Jan, 1963. *Gypsy studies I*. New Delhi.
- KOCHANOWSKI, Jan, 1967. "Critère linguistique dans l'histoire dynamique". Paper presented at the 1967 International Linguistics Congress, Bucharest.
- KOCHANOWSKI, Jan, 1968. "Black Gypsies, white Gypsies". *Diogenes*, 43:27-47.
- KOCHANOWSKI, Jan, 1976. "Occlusive + r et le mot rom en tsigane". *Société de Linguistique de Paris: Séance du 28 février 1976*. Pp. vii-xi.
- LEHMANN, Winfred, 1983. *Language: an introduction*. New York: Random House.
- LEHMANN-HAUPT, C., 1928. "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Boscha". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, third series, 7(3/4):184-195.
- LELAND, Charles Godfrey, 1873. *The English Gypsies and their language*. London.
- LESNÝ, V., 1941. "Die Zigeuner sind ursprünglich die indischen Dôms". *Archiv Orientální*, 12:121-127.
- MACALISTER, R.A. Stewart, 1908. "A sketch of the grammatical structure of the Nuri language". *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 40(1):64-70.
- MACALISTER, R.A. Stewart, 1914. *The language of the Nawar or Zutt: the nomad smiths of Palestine*. Edinburgh: Constable (= *Gypsy Lore Society Monograph No. 3*).

- MACRITCHIE, David, 1886. *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. This contains de Goeje's "A contribution to the history of the Gypsies", pp. 1-60.
- MARSDEN, William, 1785. "Observations on the language of the people commonly called Gypsies". *Archæologia*, 7:382-386.
- MIKLOSICH, Franz, 1872-1881. *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*. Vienna: Karl Gerold. In 12 parts.
- MIKLOSICH, Franz, 1874-1878. *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten*. Vienna: Karl Gerold. In 4 parts.
- MORGENSTIERNE, G., 1926. *Report of a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*. London.
- MORGENSTIERNE, G., 1929-1938. *Indo-Iranian frontier languages*. Oslo. In 2 volumes.
- MUNSTER, Sebastian, 1550. *Cosmographie universelle*. Basel.
- MURATORI, Ludovico A., 1752-1754. *Annali d'Italia*. Rome: Barbiellini.
- NAIK, Ranjit, 1978. "Notes on the Banjara, with glossary". Privately circulated monograph.
- NARASIMHAN, V.K., A.G. VENKATACHARY & V. CHARI, (eds.), 1958. *The languages of India: a kaleidoscopic survey*. Madras: Our India Directories Ltd.
- NICHOLSON, Jane, 1984. *A fragment of modern Domari*. Unpublished Master's Report, The University of Texas at Austin.
- OKELY, Judith, 1983. *The traveller Gypsies*. Cambridge UP.
- PATKANOFF, K.P., 1908-1909. "Some words on the dialects of the Transcaucasian Gypsies: Boša and Karači". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 1(3):229-257 (1908), 2(3):246-266 (1909) and 2(4):325-334 (1909).
- PETERSEN, Walter, 1912. "Vedic, Sanskrit and Prakrit". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 32:414-428.
- PISCHEL, Richard, 1883. "Die Heimath der Zigeuner". *Deutsche Rundschau*, 36:353-375.
- POLOMÉ, Edgar C., 1984. "How archaic is Old Indic?". To appear in the *Werner Winter Festschrift*, Kiel. In press.
- POTT, August F., 1844-1845. *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*. Halle: Heynemann Verlag. In 2 volumes.
- POTT, August F., 1846. "Ueber die Sprache der Zigeuner in Syrien". *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, 1:175-186.
- PUCHMEYER, Anton, 1821. *Románi čib: das ist, Grammatik und Wörterbuch der Zigeuner Sprache*. Prague: Josepha & von Wildenbrunn.
- REDŽOSKO, Y. le, 1984. "Armenian contributions to the Gypsy language". *Ararat*, Fall '84 issue.
- RISHI, W.R., 1974. "Roma". *Roma*, 1(1):1-23.
- RISHI, W.R., 1975. "The etymology of the word 'Rom'". *Roma*, 1(2):43-45.
- RISHI, W.R., 1976. "Panjabi love for buffalo's milk". *Roma*, 2(1):1-3.
- RISHI, W.R., 1983. "Roma: a study". *Roma*, 7(2):1-10.
- RÜDIGER, Jacob C.C., 1782-1793. *Neuster Zuwachs der deutschen fremden und allgemeinen Sprachkunde in eigenen Aufsätzen, Bücheranzeigen und Nachrichten*. Leipzig. In 5 parts.
- SAMPSON, John, 1907. "Gypsy language and origin". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, new series, 1:272-277.

- SAMPSON, John, 1911. "Jacob Bryant: being an analysis of his Anglo-Romani vocabulary, with a discussion of the place and date of collection and an attempt to show that Bryant, not Rüdiger, was the earliest discoverer of the Indian origin of the Gypsies". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, new series, 4:162-194.
- SAMPSON, John, 1923. "On the origin and early migrations of the Gypsies". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, third series, 2(4):156-169.
- SAMPSON, John, 1926. *The dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*. Oxford UP.
- SAMPSON, John, 1927. "Notes on Professor R.L. Turner's 'The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan'". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, third series, 6:57-68.
- SAMPSON, John, 1928. "The Ghagar of Egypt: a chapter in the history of Gypsy migration". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd. ser., 7(2):78-90.
- SARKER, Amal, (ed.), 1964. *Handbook of languages and dialects of India*. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- SEN, Sukumar, 1960. *A comparative grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*. Poona: Linguistic Society of India.
- SCHLEGEL, August von, 1820. *Indische Bibliothek*. Bonn. Romani discussed in Volume I, pp. 427-430. In two volumes.
- SHAPIRO, Michael, & H.F. Schiffman, 1981. *Language and society in South Asia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- SINCLAIR, A.T., 1915. "Avesta and Romani". *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 19(11):955-957.
- SINGHAL, D.P., 1982. *Gypsies: Indians in exile*. Kirpa Dai Series in Folklore and Anthropology, No. 5. Delhi.
- TRAIL, Ronald L., 1970. *The grammar of Lamani*. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- TRUMPP, E., 1872. "Die heutige Bevölkerung des Panjâb, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche". *Mitteilungen der anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien*, 2:289-301.
- TURNER, Sir Ralph, 1926. "The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, third series, 5(4):145-189.
- TURNER, Sir Ralph, 1927. "The position of Romani in Indo-Aryan: a reply to Dr. J. Sampson". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, third series, 6(3):129-138.
- TURNER, Sir Ralph, 1959. "Transference of aspiration in European Gypsy". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 22:
- Von HEISTER, Carl, 1842. *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen über die Zigeuner*. Königsberg: Gräfe & Unzer.
- WENTZEL, T.W., & L.N. CHERENKOV, 1976. "Диалектѣи Циганского языка". *Языка Азии и Африки*, 1:
- WINDFUHR, Gernot, 1970. "European Gypsy in Iran: a first report". *Anthropological Linguistics*, 12(8):271-292.
- WOOLNER, Alfred, 1909. "Gypsy language and origin". *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, new series, 2:285-286.

THE ETHNOLECTAL ENGLISH OF AMERICAN GYPSIES

Ian F. Hancock

Existing practically unnoticed, but everywhere to be found amidst the greater population, the Rom are one of America's smaller ethnic minorities. Popularly known as "Gypsies", the Rom are ultimately of Indian origin, and among themselves speak dialects of a language which descends from Sanskrit.

There are a great many such dialects, but they are by no means all mutually intelligible despite their close linguistic relationship. It is usually on the basis of differences of speech that the Rom most readily distinguish the different ethnic subgroupings within the overall race; these have been discussed by Lee (1967ff.). The present treatment will deal with just two of these, the Romnichals and the Rom, who together constitute the great majority of Gypsies in North America.

The history of the Gypsies may be found in more detail elsewhere (e.g. Hancock 1975 and 1979); briefly, the ancestors of the modern populations entered Europe perhaps 700 years ago from India, via Persia and the Byzantine Empire. This journey from India to Europe probably took another seven centuries before that. The entry into Europe, and the subsequent treatment of Rom there was directly the result of the increasing hostility between Muslim and Christian; since the wars against the Seljuks had seriously depleted Balkan manpower, the Rom, forced across the Dardanelles by the advancing Turkish hordes were, by 1370<sup>1</sup> forced into slavery, a condition which lasted until 1864. This is of some importance linguistically, since the abolition of slavery bears directly upon the presence of Rom in the USA and to some extent upon their linguistic behavior vis à vis the rest of the American population.

Not all of the Rom who entered Europe were made captive in the Balkans; others pushed on into western and northern Europe, the ancestors of the group now known as the Romnichals entering Britain by 1505<sup>2</sup>.

The Romnichals, like the Gitanos in Spain, the Kale in Finland and the Roteparattor in Norway and Sweden, all ethnically Gypsies, spread across Europe during the years between ca. 1250 and 1550, though the descendants of the Balkan Rom, today equally widespread, only began leaving southeastern Europe in large numbers in the 1860's. This two-stage diaspora has had an interesting effect; speakers whose ancestors arrived in Europe during the earlier period have in the main adopted the respective host languages as their mother-tongues, a process called *cainglossia*; nevertheless the ancestral tongue, in greatly modified form, is maintained within the group, though it may not be learnt until the speaker is nine or ten years old.

The language of the Romnichals is referred to here as Angloromani, since like the situation in Spain and elsewhere it developed as a contact language between speakers of Romani and the local people — in this case speakers of English. This hypothesis claims that the contact took place in Britain as early as the first half of the sixteenth century, and that for a time Angloromani and the older, inflected Romani were coexistent. This latter is now practically extinct in England, and survives with vigor only in northern Wales (see Hancock, 1979). An alternative hypothesis suggests that Angloromani dates from the nineteenth century, and is the result of gradual language loss and a simultaneous replacement with English, Romani-derived vocabulary being retained in an English grammatical matrix for social reasons (Kenrick, 1970).

In contrast, the Rom retain Romani as the first language, though everywhere being able to speak one or more languages with varying degrees of proficiency. Monolingualism in Romani is rare, and where it occurs it is restricted to very small children.

Romnichals have been reported in America since 1665, though they were not the first Gypsies to arrive here. As early as 1580 the Spanish had also begun transporting unknown numbers to the Americas, and were followed by the French by 1600. But it was the English who, in an effort to rid their country of its unwanted elements (e.g. nomads, vagrants, Irish and Scottish prisoners of war, &c.), sent many Gypsies to the colonies. The Rom on the other hand only began arriving on a large scale after about 1865; although all ultimately descend from the Balkan slave population, few families came to North America directly from there. Some had spent a number of years in Russia, Serbia and even South America before eventually making a home in the United States. According to Trigg (1973:224) "...in the latter half of the nineteenth century many more Gypsies, mostly from Slavic countries, were to arrive in the United States. By 1885, however, Gypsies were excluded by immigration policy and returned to Europe". But this policy was not entirely effective, since Rom were able to enter illegally across the Canadian and Mexican borders, and in any case it is not always possible to identify a Gypsy by appearance alone, and since there is no indication of ethnic origin on a passport, government ruling was only successful when immigrants arrived in large, easily-identifiable groups.

Traditionally, Gypsy culture forbids extensive socializing with non-Gypsies (called *gajé* in Romani), while at the same time the various means

of livelihood depend upon working within the greater population; thus it is important to know that population's language. It appears to have been acquired for just this purpose, after initial arrival in this country, and having once been learnt developed separately within the Romani community, with only <sup>minimal</sup> direct reinforcement from the outside world.

Inflected Romani has a complex morphology, and a phonology which differs considerably from that of English, and while English and Romani are usually learnt simultaneously, the English is an ethnolectal variety used within the home, rather than that of non-Gypsy Americans. It is still widely felt that attendance at school is contrary to the traditional Gypsy way of life (*romaniya*), since it means physical and cultural exposure to the gajé; nevertheless an increasing number of children are attending public school for shorter or longer periods of time, and as a result are being exposed to general American English from an earlier age than their parents.

The ethnolectal English of the Rom is distinguished by extensive intrusion from Romani. Romani also exhibits considerable interference from English as might be expected (see Hancock, 1975). An increasing number of people also command a more acrolectal variety, and using this is called "speaking like an American". Linguistic behavior is a very powerful factor in one's identity as a Rom, and Romani English, rather than general American English, is used within the community whenever Romani is not being spoken. To talk a standardized variety would be considered affected, and would not be tolerated for long, even though the ability to do so when making out-group contact is praised as being a useful skill.

In particular, Romani-English is distinguished phonologically by a lack of contrast between /w/ and /v/, /t/ and /θ/, /d/ and /ð/ and aspirated and non-aspirated stops. Thus pronunciations such as ['wɔlwo] "Volvo" (a brand of car), ['tɛləwɪzɪn] "television", [dɛt] "that", [tɪŋk] "think", &c., are common. Less common are hyperurbanized forms such as [θɪl] "tree" or ['θaɪpraɪde] "typewriter".

In being adopted into Romani, English words are made to conform to Romani phonology, in many cases taking a final vowel, and if a noun being assigned to a particular gender class. In Romani there are two distinct verbal paradigms to which all loanverbs are assigned (Hancock, 1975:101). Sometimes an English word which has been adopted into Romani will be used in Romani-English in its assimilated form: *don't gimme that* [bɪ'yɛso] "don't give me that BS"; *they live over in* [sɪ'adla] "they live over in Seattle"; *it was a letter from the* [gavɛ'manto] "it was a letter from the government". Perhaps the most noticeable feature lexically is the abundance of malapropisms, some of which have been listed elsewhere (*op. cit.*), resulting from English words being heard but not verified in print: *volumas* "Vallums" (a brand of tranquilizer), *world's fair check* "welfare check", and so on. Words may be otherwise confused, thus ['fɔ:nɪ] in Romani-English, and as an adoption into Romani, means "funny", but appears to be based on the English word "phoney" (In Romani, "funny" is *p<sup>h</sup>irāsa*, and "phoney" is *t<sup>h</sup>odinē*). Similarly one hears "electrical currency", "car exhaustion", "Al Capulco" (for the Mexican town of Acapulco), "knowlogy", and so on. While these are usually restricted to families or single individuals, some have very wide currency.

Because of the insulation from the rest of the population,

and the fact that English was acquired first in the late nineteenth century from (usually) non-standard speakers, forms which are either obsolescent or regional in American English survive; *gramophone* or *victrola* "phonograph", *subpeeny* "subpoena", *extr*: "extra", and so on. Grammatically, a shibboleth is the use of *because* for "that" as complementizer, both words being translated by *ke* in Romanian: *did you hear because he's sick?*

Among the Romnichal population, the situation is rather different, for whatever its history their ethnic speech has become a variety of English, and the original inflected variety is not known except to a very few individuals, and there is little interaction with the inflected-Romanian-speaking Rom here. The English of the Romnichals is therefore not subject to other-language interference the way the English of the Rom is. Illiteracy is almost as common as it is among Rom, and examples of otosis, or ear-error, are similarly common: *delations* "relations", *devios* "advice", *mopheridyke* "lesbian" (< "hermaphrodite"), *tippoty* "antipathy",

and in particular modified forms such as *composement* "composition", blends such as *muddly* for "muddy", and overcorrected pronunciations like ['θærmæsk], [wænst] and [næst] for "Thermos", "once", "nice". An example of a very widespread reinterpretation of a standard English word is *gorgeous*, which being understood as containing the root ['gɔ:dʒə] "non-Gypsy" has come to mean "pertaining to the gajé". Another word with a special interpretation in the English of American Romnichals is *glamorize*, which is used in the sense of "charm" or "bewitch". Commenting on the similarly idiosyncratic character of the English of the Romnichal population in Britain, Dr. Thomas Acton, a specialist in Gypsy politics and education, questions whether items like the above should be "...considered as mistakes in English usage,

which would hinder the educational development of the child, and were a symptom of verbal inadequacy, or whether they were to be considered as valid coinage within an ongoing tradition, of whose relation to standard English older Gypsies at least were aware"<sup>3</sup>.

Currently, no examination is being made in this country of the educational situation of the Romnichal population here; as with the Rom, few Romnichal children attend school for long, and since they remain within an all-Gypsy environment outside of working hours, the question of the rightness or wrongness of their speech does not arise, and it would only be labelled a 'problem' once the gajé became involved.

Romnichal speech fluctuates along a continuum, with English at one extreme and Angloromani at the other. Unlike the situation with the Rom, who are able to say at any given time what language they are speaking, despite cross-interference from the other system, there is no clear-cut division between Angloromani and Romnichal English, although the greater the incidence of non-English lexicon an utterance has, the 'deeper' it is said to be. Generally speaking, the language is 'deeper' in the United States and Canada than it is in Britain, though such statements mean little since the line between natural and conscious speech is hard to define. Certain Romani-derived words occur constantly in Romnichal English quite spontaneously, while an attempt to speak at length on a topic using an absolute minimum of English words would be extremely difficult for many people. There are a number of individuals who can do this, and who have earned reputations for themselves for this ability.

An example of mesolectal Romnichal language approaching the

English end of the scale is found in a book of essays by Romnichal children, again in Britain since nothing similar is found here<sup>4</sup>, produced by the National Gypsy Education Council:

"...at night when they come out of the kitchema, they get in their cart and go back to the vardos. They sit around the old yog, and they get a piece of board and they tap dance on it. They gilly around the yog. The little chavvies are in the vardos asleep. When the little chavvies gets up, they take the grais down to the pani and they wash the grais down, and then they ride the grais up and down the drom. Then we all go to the kitchema and we all have bread and kel and a piece of stinger" (Zilla Roberts, aged 11)<sup>5</sup>.

The author of the above piece has attended school since she was eleven — three years — and non-standard features in her speech are negligible ("the little chavvies gets up", in the above selection); but even though this excerpt is from a school essay, it is quite representative of how she would speak English in her home environment. Half of all the nouns she uses are Angloromani<sup>6</sup> (*stinger* for "onion" is of Cant rather than Romani derivation), but such a proportion is not unusual in Romnichal English, and would increase sharply as a speaker shifted into Angloromani. Angloromani itself, with examples of the language from the United States, Canada and Britain, has been dealt with in detail elsewhere.

Mention may be made of a similar, though ethnically unrelated situation in this country, that of the Irish Travelers who live in Georgia and a number of other southern states, and who "...speak and use in their daily lives an argot derived from Irish Gaelic which they call 'the Cant'" (Harper, 1969:lv). Thus they too speak a 'secret' language, and as with the Romnichals, it also influences their everyday variety of English.

Most of the Irish Traveler population in the United States traces its history here from the time of the potato famine of 1845-1852, which drove over half of the population of Ireland overseas. Jared Harper, who is the only person so far to have worked on Cant in this country, collected about 150 different words from Travelers over a five month period, which he estimated fairly represents the total extent of the vocabulary.

Cant derives from an earlier speech called Shelta, which also survives in North America as well as in Britain (Hancock, 1974) but the Travelers, who despite their name are settled for much of the time, are not familiar with it. Even Cant is becoming lost in the settled communities; it "...is a road language used only between Travelers wandering the highways and byways of the land, and it is only they who know it well...some road traders simply forget Cant when they retire from the road..." (Harper, 1969:80). Shelta itself is a contact language between Irish and English, and differs from Cant in extent of Irish-derived lexical content (between one and two thousand items) and Irish-derived idiom.

Although some Cant words are common in Traveler English, e.g. [ni'dʒeɪ] "no", it does not intrude into that language to anything like the extent Angloromani does into the English of American Romnichals. When it is spoken, Cant serves as a conscious barrier between Travelers and the rest of the population, and would be used to discuss the price or the merits of a horse, for example, in front of a customer. Samples taken from Harper of Cant items occurring spontaneously in an all-Traveler environment include *he's kind of* [θɜrki] "he's kind of quarrelsome", *they laid the [gramp] out there* "they laid the tent out there", *she's* [lɪrki] "she's

crazy" and *rub his* [dʒi:l] "rub his self (i.e. him)". The samples of Traveler English found elsewhere in Harper indicate features commonly associated with Irish or other non-standard kinds of English, "them's strange people", "there's still somes (*sic*) that uses it, but they ain't got no sense".

There are a number of similar idioms to the above in modern America; the Polari of sections of the male homosexual community (Hancock, 1973, Collier, 1976) or the Boontling of northern California (Adams, 1971) and so on. How far professional or cryptic vocabulary may influence the colloquial English of these speakers, and to what extent we are justified in treating foreign language interference (as in Romani English) and 'cryptic register interference', for lack of a more suitable term (as in Romnichal English or Irish Traveler Cant) as extensions of the same phenomenon however, has yet to be explored.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Vaux de Foletier (1970:24) says "The first Gypsies mentioned in the Rumanian archives, toward the middle of the 14th century, were already slaves. In 1386, Mircea Ist, the Lord of Wallachia, confirmed a gift made about 1370 by his uncle Vladislav to the Monastery of St. Anthony, near Voditza, of forty Gypsy families".

<sup>2</sup>There are in fact suggestions that they may have already entered the British Isles as much as a century before that.

<sup>3</sup>Acton (1971:18).

<sup>4</sup>It ought to be stressed that apart from the educational aspects, the linguistic situation in the USA closely parallels the British one. With the exception of the discussion of Irish Traveler Cant, below, observations in the present paper are all based on the writer's personal involvement with various Gypsy communities in this country.

<sup>5</sup>NGEC (1976:6).

<sup>6</sup>These are *chavvi* "child" (cf. Romani *čavo* "boy", Sanskrit *śāva*, Hindi *chokarā*), *drom* "road" (cf. R. *drom* < Greek *δρομος*), *gilly* "sling" (cf. R. *gili*, S. *gīti*, H. *gīt*), *grai* "horse" (cf. R. *grai*, S. *ghoṭa*, H. *ghorā*), *kal* "butter" (cf. R. *kāl*, S. *ghṛta*, H. *ghṛ*), *kitohema* "tavern" (cf. R. *kirāma* < Old Slavic *кѣрма*), *pani* "water" (cf. R. *pani*, S. *pāṇya*, H. *pāṇ*), *varḍo* "waggon" (cf. R. *varḍo*, *vardan* < Ossetic *уардан* [u:rdan]) and *yog* "fire" (cf. R. *yag*, S. *agni*, H. *ag*). The Cant mentioned here does not refer to the Shelta-derived speech of the same name mentioned below.

- Acton, Thomas A., 1971, *Current changes amongst British Gypsies and their place in international patterns of development*, Oxford.
- Adams, Charles C., 1971, *Boontling, an American lingo*, University of Texas Press, Austin and London.
- Collier, Barbara, 1976, "On the origins of Lingua Franca", *Journal of Creole Studies*, 1(2).00-00.
- Hancock, Ian F., 1973, "Remnants of the Lingua Franca in Britain", *The USP Language Quarterly*, XI.35-36.
- , 1974a, "Shelta, a problem of classification", in David DeCamp and Ian F. Hancock (eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: Current trends and prospects*, Georgetown University Press, Washington, pp. 130-137.
- , 1974b, "Identity, equality and standard language", *The Florida FL Reporter*, XII.49-52, 101-104.
- , 1975a, *Problems in the Creation of a Standard dialect of Romanes*, Social Science Research Council Working Paper in Sociolinguistics, XXV, May, pp. 65.
- , 1975b, "Patterns of lexical adoption in an American dialect of Romanes", *Orbis*, XXV(1).83-104.
- , 1979, "Pidginization and the development of Anglo-Romani", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 4th series, 1(3).00-00.
- Harper, Jared V., 1969, *Irish Traveler Cant: An historical, structural, and sociolinguistic study of an argot*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, pp. ix, 127.
- , 1971, "'Gypsy' research in the South", in J. Morland (ed.), *The not so solid South*, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings No. 4, Athens, pp. 16-24.
- Harper, Jared V., and Charles Hudson, 1971, "Irish Traveler Cant", *Journal of English Linguistics*, V.78-86.
- , 1973, "Irish Traveler Cant in its social Setting", *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XXXVII(2).101-104.
- Kenrick, Donald, 1971, "Anglo-Romani today", in T.A. Acton, pp. 5-14.
- Lee, Ronald, 1967ff., "The Gypsies in Canada", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, XLVI.38-51 (1967), XLVII.12-28 (1968) and XLVIII.92-107 (1969).

NGEC, 1976, *The travelling man and other stories: An anthology of writing by Gypsy and Traveller children*, National Gypsy Education Council, Sheffield.

Trigg, Elwood B., 1973, *Gypsy demons and divinities*, Secaucus.

Vaux de Foletier, F. de, 1970, "L'esclavage des Tsiganes dans les principautés roumaines", *Etudes Tsiganes*, XVI (2/3).24-29.

Ian F. Hancock  
University of Texas at Austin  
Komitia Lumiaki Romani

To appear in J. Dillard (ed.), *Perspectives on American English*, Mouton, 1978.

**THE FUNCTION OF THE GYPSY MYTH**

**Ian Hancock**



**PAPER FOR THE PARIS COLLOQUIUM**

**"TSIGANES: IDENTITE, CULTURE, EVOLUTION"**

**CENTRE GEORGES POMPIDOU, DECEMBER 4TH-6TH 1986**

**ENGLISH VERSION**

**Also to appear in The Journal, Fall, 1986. New York**

# Bindman & Partners Solicitors

1 Euston Road  
King's Cross  
London NW1 2SA

DX 37904

01-278 8131

Professor I.F. Hancock,  
University of Austin,  
PO Box 856,  
Buda,  
Texas 78610  
U.S.A.

Your reference

Our reference 387/SG/MA

Date 23rd October 1986

Dear Professor Hancock,

My firm is acting for the Commission for Racial Equality, a statutory body charged with the responsibility of eliminating racial discrimination in the United Kingdom.

The Commission is bringing legal proceedings against various owners of public houses who display signs bearing the words "No travellers". In the Commission's view these words indicate an intention to discriminate against travellers or gypsies, who are a group defined by reference to their ethnic origin and therefore a racial group under the relevant UK legislation. The Race Relations Act 1976 has recently been interpreted by the House of Lords in relation to Sikhs and I enclose a copy of the judgment.

The court which is to hear the case has ordered expert evidence. We are in the process of gathering evidence (a) on the meaning of "travellers" and (b) as to common ethnicity, culture, history, language, literature, geographical origin of travellers or gypsies.

I believe that you may be able to help in the provision of documentation, case law, legislation treaties or other material in the United States or more generally. Please let me know if there is any information which you can provide.

You will appreciate that I am anxious to pursue this litigation as quickly as possible and I would be grateful if you could get in touch with me in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

  
STEPHEN GROSZ

## THE FUNCTION OF THE GYPSY MYTH

Ian Hancock  
World Romani Union  
and  
The University of Texas at Austin

It is evident that there are aspects of the dominant European-derived culture which are perceived of as threatening: groups seeking escape from it were well represented among the early settlers in North America; others have more recently sought to drop out and establish alternative societies -- the hippie communes of the 1960s, and the neo-African and neo-Islamic colonies which have sprung up in recent years within the United States, are examples of this. For the most part, such breaks with the mainstream have been initiated by individuals who were originally participants themselves, and who have only subsequently become disenchanted by it.

Perhaps the most vigorous rejection of the dominant culture, however, is typified by those groups who have been insulating themselves from the world around them from the very beginning, i.e. have not grown as societies alternative to, and derived from, the mainstream. Whereas none of the 18th and 19th century immigrant utopian societies survive today, and very few of the dropout communes, people such as the Amish or the Doukhobors continue to maintain their isolation successfully here in North America.

One ethnic minority which belongs in this latter category is the Romani, or Gypsy, population. Numbering between a half and one million in North America, until very recently Gypsies have existed unobtrusively here, seldom attracting national attention and in fact not even recognized by most of mainstream society as real people at all; commenting on this, journalist Nikki Meredith wrote that "the secrecy of the Gypsies makes the Mafia look like an open society" (1983:9).

The history of the Gypsy people can hardly be matched in terms of oppression and injustice. Since their very entry into Europe from the Middle East six centuries ago, they have been the victims of slavery and genocide, transportation and torture. No other single human population has endured so widely and so consistently the suffering of the Romani people. At first incarceration, then expulsion, sterilization, and finally extermination were techniques employed by the Nazis to deal with Gypsies, treatment civilized individuals now regard in retrospect with horror; yet within the past few years -- since the late 1960s -- all four have been proposed by different European governments as means of solving their "Gypsy problem". Gypsies began to reach the Americas in the 16th century as transportees shipped here to work in the plantations; others came to the United States at the end of the last century fleeing slavery in Europe, but were turned away at Ellis Island, the victims of discriminatory immigration policy. Those who managed to come in across the Mexican or Canadian borders met anti-Gypsy laws which are still on the books today, and which are still periodically put into effect. No other ethnic minority in this country is the target of repressive laws in which they are specifically named, and which forbid, or require a license for the establishment of homes or work in different counties and states. No other ethnic minority has special police bureaus monitoring its movements, or has specialists compiling a computerized file of names and addresses and genealogical data on its population.

Facts such as these contrast starkly with the idealized picture which the gajikano, or non-Gypsy, population has of Gypsies. The writer recently bought a lapel-button bearing the slogan "Free the Gypsies" -- this, and another with the wording "Free the Unicorns" was on sale in a novelty gift shop. Its intent was to amuse -- after all, in the popular mind, Gypsies are the very epitome of freedom. There are hundreds of literary pieces, either novels or poems, as well as a great number of songs, which have a Gypsy theme, and the theme has overwhelmingly to do with freedom: freedom to wander, freedom from nine-to-five jobs, freedom from having to attend to personal hygiene, freedom from sexual restrictions, freedom from the burden of material possessions, freedom from responsibility, freedom from the law. In Black's Gypsy Bibliography, which includes nothing later than 1914, there are 133 ballads, 199 plays, 351 novels and 262 poems listed which have been written about, or including, Gypsies in the English literary tradition alone.

In my book The Pariah Syndrome (Karoma, 1986), I document in some detail the facts of Romani history from the perspective of being a targeted population. What emerges is a picture of centuries of almost ceaseless oppression; whatever periods of freedom may have existed during that time were short-lived, and were the result of the idealizing of the Gypsy population by the writers and philanthropists of the time, people whom Dougherty called "superficial sentimentalists or genteel snobs looking for a feudal relic to coddle and patronize" in his study of the Gypsy in literature (1980:273). Without doubt, there exists an extraordinary discrepancy between the real and the perceived state of the Gypsy.

When we examine the reasons for this, a number of possibilities present themselves. Part of the stereotype includes the belief that Gypsies are a "mysterious" people with an unknown, perhaps other-worldly, past. This is alluded to repeatedly in the content and even the titles of books and articles about Gypsies. This would suggest that

the reason lies simply in ignorance of the facts. And yet a great deal is known about Gypsy origins and history. It has not been a matter of speculation for over two centuries that Gypsies trace their linguistic and cultural heritage to India. A hundred and twenty years ago Simson called the fictitious image of the Gypsy as wanderer "very erroneous", pointing out that "nomadic Gypsies constitute but a portion of the race, and a very small portion of it" (1865:8); more recently, Okely has made the same point: "Gypsies do not travel about aimlessly, as either the romantics or the anti-Gypsy suggest" (1983:125). Scholarly treatments of Gypsies are numerous and readily available, and lack of information cannot be the reason for the perpetuation of the myth. But the idea that a lack of information exists has become a part of that myth. The reasons for its persistence must be sought elsewhere.

More recently, there have been signs of a grudging acknowledgement of the legitimacy of Gypsy identity and history, but a resistance to it -- as though it were driving away something more valuable. Even when discounting the fictional image, it is reinforced by being repeated. Even when none of the trappings of that image are a part of the reporter's actual experience, they are alluded to. The Toronto Sun ran an article on Gypsies in Spring, 1985, which began "Gypsy. Even the word is impossibly romantic. Dark eyes, crying violins, and wanderlust. A life of pleasure and abandon. But the reality...is vastly different". In August, 1986, one Boston newspaper ran a six-page feature on one of that city's Romani families, claiming on the first page that they could have been "Spanish, or French, or Italian, or Irish", but by the second page calling them

...glitter and gold, decked out in bright babushka of legend. They are exotic women in colorful skirts, dancing in sensual swirls. They are dark men with smoldering eyes. They are carefree spirits playing the tambourine. The entire image is crowned with a halo of mystique, shrouded in a cloak of mystery. And there is some truth to all of it (Brink, 1986:5).

It's clear that Gypsies give fledgeling journalists a chance to exercise their skills in creative fiction, but truth gets distorted considerably in the process. Despite showing two pictures, one inside and one out, of the house of the Gypsy family it discusses, another article is entitled "Hustle, hustle aboard the caravan". Crystal balls, non-existent in the community described, are alluded to in the headline "Authorities gaze into Gypsy con-game". Despite its serious intent, a 20-minute documentary film about a Romani school in California closed with the observation that "Although Gypsies still dance around the camp fire, the fire is slowly flickering out as Gypsy life gradually fades into oblivion...". The film dealt with education, and included no dancing, and no camp fires. An article about preparations for a forthcoming Halloween party wrote that "men and women of all ages, dressed as witches, devils, ghosts, monsters, fairies, Gypsies and other supernatural characters" would be there (Conner, 1985:5), although Halloween is not a Romani festival nor has anything to do with Gypsies. The association has been created entirely in the minds of non-Gypsies.

Most writers about Gypsies still get their information from books rather than from first-hand experience; those who do manage to win the confidence of actual Gypsies, and thereby gain temporary entry into the Romani environment, quickly find their preconceptions shaken. There are no camp fires and tambourines, no crystal balls and violins. Yet their non-existence is not interpreted as evidence of the inaccuracy of the Gypsy image -- but rather that true "Gypsy life" is disappearing. This was the sentiment in the closing words of the documentary film from California; it is the sentiment expressed by journalist Ira Berkow in an article called "Americanizing the Gypsy soul", which appeared in 1975: "Gypsies are shockingly", he wrote, "also becoming home owners". A student of mine came to me at the end of a course I give on Romani history, to thank me for what she'd learned. But she admitted to some disappointment, because I'd made Gypsies become real people for her. She preferred the image she had of them before taking the class, she said.

6

In 1973, Cohn suggested that Gypsies themselves survive as a people because they "are needed in [non-Gypsy] culture" (1973:61), the implication being that Gypsies exist thanks to non-Gypsy suffrance. There seems to be a need, presumably in all cultures, for an avenue of escape for those individuals who cannot function fully in their own society, either because of personality traits or a genuine grievance against its standards. Cohn's statement is misleading, however, because he does not make the point that what attracts the "hippies and fanatics" he speaks of are not, in fact, Gypsies but the imaginary popular image of Gypsies which those same individuals help to sustain.

A number of alternative reasons have been suggested, by sociologists and others, as to what motivates such people to be attracted to the Gypsy Image; these have been discussed at more length in Hancock (1976). One possibility is that the normalizing pressures of mainstream, Anglo-dominated American society has robbed some of those in it of their identity; ethnicity for such people becomes a precious commodity, and since (unlike for Italian, Irish, Serbian, &c. Americans) there exists a tangible mythical Gypsy identity to which "hippies and fanatics", musicians, actors, flower-children and others apparently belong, it serves as a useful all-purpose ethnic receptacle. Since it exists quite independently of Gypsies themselves, there is never a conflict with the actual ethnic community who, as will be shown, make use of it in turn for their own purposes.

Fantasy projection harms the Romani people by keeping the stereotype alive, and by making it difficult to convince the media of more serious Gypsy-related issues. But another reason for the maintenance of the Gypsy Image by the establishment has been more harmful in the past, though it is far from dead: the Gypsy as scapegoat.

7

Since the 14th century, Gypsies in Europe have existed as a people without a geographical homeland, and without any kind of political, military, educational or financial strength. An easy target for the application of blame. Gypsies have been accused of theft, poisoning wells, poisoning cattle, spreading diseases, stealing children, and even cannibalism. The most recent charges of the latter crime were made in Slovakia as recently as 1928.

Kephart has recently suggested that prejudice against Gypsies is based in their being perceived of as a countercultural population -- a refinement of the notion of Gypsy as Scapegoat:

American Gypsies too, continue to face prejudice and discrimination...Some observers contend that it is a matter of ethnic prejudice, similar to that experienced by blacks, Chicanos and other minorities. However, it is also possible that the Rom are perceived as a *counterculture*...If people perceive of Gypsies as a counterculture, then unfortunately for all concerned, prejudice and discrimination might be looked upon as justifiable retaliation (1982:43).

Yet another explanation, and an attractive one for this writer, has been proposed by Sibley. He believes that there has been an intrinsic manipulation of the Romaní population by the establishment which, for its own purposes, keeps the Gypsy Myth alive and resists efforts to adjust it to something more realistic; since that image is the antithesis of all of the values of that establishment -- morality, work ethic, hygiene and so on -- it serves a useful purpose in helping to define the parameters of the dominant culture:

It is notable that myth contributes in a significant way to the shaping of images of groups that do not fit the dominant social model. The possibility that the characterization of social groups like Gypsies may be based on myth is rarely considered, particularly in governmental circles, probably because these myths are functional -- they serve to define the boundaries of the dominant system. Accounts of non-conforming behaviour assume the form of a romantic myth, or they involve imputations of deviancy, which are also largely mythical; the romantic image, located at a distance or in the past, necessarily puts the minority on the outside (1981: 195-196).

Quoting from Erikson (1966:13,64), Ronald Takaki elaborates on the notion of parameter-maintenance by keeping non-members in their place:

Deviant forms of behavior, by marking the outer edges of group life, give the inner structure its special character and thus supply the framework within which the people of the group develop an orderly sense of their own cultural identity...one of the surest ways to confirm an identity, for communities as well as for individuals, is to find some way of measuring what one is *not* (1979:126).

Romani reactions to non-Gypsy treatment of them have taken two main directions. There has on the one hand been a withdrawal from all unnecessary social and physical contact with non-Gypsies. Cultural pressures to remain aloof have existed since before the exodus out of India, and no doubt have their origins in the Indian caste system. Among contemporary Gypsies in the United States, their actual manifestation differs from group to group, being most strongly maintained by those who came here directly out of slavery. But children are taught from the beginning that a clear cut division exists between people who are Gypsies and people who are not, and that it must be maintained at all costs. This is reinforced by notions of cleanliness, eating habits, the handling of animals, sexual behavior and so on. The desirability of being a Gypsy is emphasized, and while there are no illusions about the difficulties of maintaining Romani values in a non-Romani environment, very few Gypsies would want to be anything else. At the same time, great lengths are gone to in order to protect the ethnic identity; it is still the case that only a handful of Gypsies admit their ethnicity publicly, one reason for the apparently tiny number of identifiable Gypsies in the professions.

On the other hand, there has been an internalization of the stereotype, and a regurgitation of it for the public: if this is what fascinates the non-Gypsy, and if this is what they are willing to pay for, then they shall have it. David Nemeth has recognized this, although his observations are rather extreme:

More traditional Gypsy power-brokers...may prefer being portrayed by the media as hustlers, even predators, than as the pathetic prey of Nazis and other racists (1986:117).

Media attention of this sort can in fact harm the whole community; police routinely step up their harrassment of all Gypsies in an area, even when just one individual or family is under investigation. Nevertheless, an image is usually projected which can mislead the public, and which thereby protects the community. Sometimes this seems to be done instinctively: in the article by Brink mentioned earlier, assuming that she did not put words into his mouth, her interviewee claimed that Gypsies do not work like other people, and that there were no Gypsies in the professions, no Gypsy doctors. And yet the individual involved had attended a World Romani Congress in Europe and had met its leaders, all Rom, who numbered among themselves physicians, professors, politicians and engineers. Some of his own relatives in the United States are in the professions. Outsiders are discouraged from learning the Romani language, and may be told that it is Greek, or Spanish. This misleading representation from within the Romani community serves as a shield; it is believed that if inquisitive non-Gypsies are busy pursuing the myth, they will leave the real thing alone; it is a mechanism of liberation which allows a minimum of interference from outside. The function of this, however, is beginning to be affected by contemporary changes affecting the Gypsy community.

In the past few years, the American Romani population has begun to organize itself in ways previously non-existent in this country. Specialists in Romani studies have commented on the unlikelihood of Gypsy political or civil rights movements; some have called such efforts "fantastic", others "a mere toying, a waste of energy" and "artificially contrived" (Lípa, 1983:4). Romani self-determination is a threat to those scholars whose investment in Gypsies is in their value as anthropological subjects. Like Eskimos without igloos or Indians without teepees, Gypsies without waggons cheat the investigator of something. While Anglo Americans can progress from horse and cart to automobile, "exotic" minorities are seen to be losing something of their identity if they do too.

10

New conflicts for American Gypsies are becoming evident as these movements grow: since obtaining permanent representation in the United Nations in 1979, the World Romani Union has entered the international forum; trans-Atlantic communication is on the increase; with the ongoing demand for Romani representation on the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, Washington has become very well aware of the Romani presence in this country. It is not possible to remain invisible and be involved in such matters. More and more Romani Americans are seeking legal recourse and challenging discrimination in the courts, and winning. There is an increasing rejection of the word "Gypsy" and all of the negative connotations that go with it. But if the existence of the Gypsy Myth is to be eradicated in Euro-American society, both Gypsies and gaje are going to have to find alternatives to fulfill its functions, and this is not likely to be accomplished soon.

UWI Libraries

### References Cited

- Acton, Thomas, & Morgan Dalphinis, eds., 1987. Language, Blacks and Gypsies. London: The Karla Press. In press.
- Brink, Susan, 1986. "Gypsies in Boston". Sunday: The Boston Herald Magazine. August 10th, pp. 4-7, 16-17.
- Conner, Randolph, 1985. "She takes Halloween spiritually". Images, October 25th, p. 5.
- Dougherty, James, 1980. The Gypsy in Literature. University of Chicago doctoral dissertation. University Microfilms.
- Erikson, Kai, 1966. Wayward puritans: A study in the sociology of deviance. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Grumet, Joanne, ed., 1986. Papers from the Sixth and Seventh Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter. New York.
- Hancock, Ian, 1976. "Romance vs. reality: popular notions of the Gypsy". Roma, 2(1):7-23.
- Hancock, Ian, 1986. The pariah syndrome: an account of Gypsy slavery and persecution. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Hancock, Ian, 1987. "Standardization and ethnic defense in emergent non-literate societies: the Gypsy and Caribbean cases", in Acton & Dalphinis, (eds.), 1987.

- Kephart, William, 1982. Extraordinary groups. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Lípa, Jiří, 1983. Guest editorial on priorities in Romanological studies, Newsletter of the North American Chapter of the Gypsy Lore Society, 6(1):3.
- Meredith, Nikki, 1983. "The fortunes of the Gypsies". California Living Magazine, April 24th, pp. 9-15.
- Nemeth, David, 1986. "The Gypsy motif", in Grumet, (ed.), 1986:115-122.
- Okely, Judith, 1983. The Traveller Gypsies. Cambridge: The University Press.
- Sibley, David, 1981. Outsiders in urban societies. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Simson, Walter, 1865. A history of the the Gypsies. London: Sampson, Low, Son & Marston.
- Takaki, Ronald, 1979. Iron cages: Race and culture in nineteenth century America. New York: Alfred Knopf.

## The social and linguistic development of scandoromani

Ian Hancock

In his review of Iversen's *Secret languages of Norway* Einar Haugen concludes that in that country, Romani is "just a dialect of Norwegian", yet goes on to say that the core of its vocabulary goes back to India (1949: 391). There is an evident anomaly here; being of North Germanic descent, no Scandinavian dialect can be shown to have a core of direct lexical retention of Indic origin, yet when we examine Scandoromani, it does indeed appear to have just that. In the normal course of linguistic evolution, we cannot expect a language to start as (in this case, for example) Indo-Aryan, spoken in Asia, to become Germanic and spoken in northern Europe. This apparent shift in genetic affiliation is itself sufficiently aberrant to warrant closer investigation.

Romani itself is an Indic language today having between six and ten million speakers throughout the world, principally in Europe, North Africa, the Americas, Australia, and South Africa. These are the Roma, commonly, though incorrectly, called Gypsies. In order to understand the Scandinavian linguistic situation, it will first be necessary to say something about the origin and spread of Romani in a world context.

Although the Indian roots of the language have been known to western scholarship for over two centuries, two questions still lack definitive answers: (a) to which people and language in India is it most closely related, and (b) what led to the exodus of the original population out of India, and when did it take place? In the Scandinavian case, a third may be added: (c) what linguistic process can account for its shift in genetic affiliation from Indic to Germanic, if this is indeed what has happened?

During the nineteenth century, and for much of the twentieth, speculation in this regard has been clouded by reliance upon vague and usually unsubstantiated hypotheses. A connection between the Roma and the lowest of the four Indian castes was made as early as 1783 by Grellmann, continuing to be supported by Leland and others a century later, and by Sampson in the 1920s. Grellmann's rationale was that the Romani populations in Europe have traditionally been employed in professions similar to those characteristic of the Sudra caste; later, a connection was made between the word *dom*, referring to members of a menial class in India,

The hypothesis which has gained ground most recently is the result of research undertaken by Indian scholars themselves. In the mid-1970s, interest in the Roma among academics in India led to the establishment of the Indian Institute of Romani Studies and the appearance of its journal *Romana*, devoted wholly to all aspects of the Romani experience (Rishi 1975). This hypothesis maintains that the ancestors of the Roma were a composite people consisting of high-caste Rajput warriors together with their camp followers who were drawn from the lowest caste. According to Watson in his *Concise history of India* (1981: 88), the Rajputs were "welded out of different non-Aryan material into a martial society of interrelated families, and rewarded with kṣātriya status and certificates of descent from the sun and the moon" in the tenth century to fight against Islamic incursions into north-western India by the armies of Mohammed Ghaznavid. Watson also mentions the Rajputs' "facility for assimilating foreigners" (1981: 88), characteristic also of the modern Romani population. A remnant of the symbolic association of the Rajput warriors with the sun and the moon, as well as with the stars, is found among some central European Romani groups today (Chatard – Bernard 1959: 93 – 94; Sutherland 1975: 125). The Rajputs and their camp followers, presumably of mainly Dravidian descent, moved westwards into Persia, becoming embroiled in a succession of Middle Eastern battles against Islam; as they became more and more remote from their homeland, their shared Indian identity, we can hypothesize, overcame whatever caste distinctions might have divided them socially, and in time the population became one. This would account for the character of the Romani language, which demonstrates Central Indic, Northwestern Indic, and Dardic linguistic characteristics. A 1987 medical report in the *The Lancet* August 15th issue determined that "Analysis of blood groups, haptoglobin phenotypes, and HLA types establishes the Gypsies as a distinct racial group with origins in the Panjab region of India."

While the original Romani language brought into Europe seven centuries ago exists today only in some sixty widely scattered dialectal forms, it has been possible to describe the proto-language using the techniques of linguistic reconstruction (Higgie 1984; see also Hancock 1988). Despite the fragmentation of the language, its dialects fall nevertheless into a number of well-defined subgroups, and it is easily possible to speak of a "Common Romani" core shared by all of them. Differences are, in the main, lexical and phonological, although calquing on local non-Romani idiom and morphosyntax is also everywhere apparent.

In a chapter which appears in a study of ethnic minority languages in Britain (Edwards – Alladina 1991) I proposed that all contemporary Romani populations have a non-Indic genetic component, because

... wherever Roma have migrated, they have encountered, and sometimes formed permanent alliances with, other, non-Romani peoples. This has given rise to newer, syncretic populations which, because of the pervasiveness of the core culture and language, have remained essentially Romani in terms of their own perceived identity; non-Romani groups have usually adjusted to the Roma rather than the reverse, although sufficient non-Romani elements have also been incorporated to affect the broader cultural and linguistic characteristics of each individual group ... IN some instances, the INDic element has not been sufficient to keep the overall identity of

and the Gypsies' self-designation *Rom*. Supporting this hypothesis, and also providing a date for the departure from India, was the claim that Firdausi's epic poem the *Shah Nameh* was in fact an account of the first Gypsy migration out of the subcontinent. This Persian poem, written in the eleventh century, told of ten thousand Indian musicians being given as a gift by the Indian emperor to the ruler of Persia in A. D. 439. The story relates that after a year, the musicians had all vanished, presumably having migrated toward the West. What they were doing during the intervening eight centuries before entering Europe, and where they were located geographically, is not explained by Firdausi.

There are solid reasons for rejecting this explanation, both linguistic and historical. Phonological and morphological development within the neo-Indic languages, including Romani, cannot place separation as early as the fifth century A. D. Furthermore, the almost total absence of Arabic-derived items in Romani argues strongly against centuries of settlement in the Middle East. Persian and Byzantine Greek items on the other hand, are plentiful.

We must also re-evaluate the idea that the ancestors of the Roma were untouchables, doing the same jobs in India that typify them in Europe today. Nor can we dismiss the likelihood that it has been racial and social prejudice among western scholars which has helped to sustain this notion; in late 1930 for example, the Norwegian sociologist J. Scharfenberg published a series of articles demanding that Gypsies throughout Norway should be sterilized as a means of achieving the eventual permanent eradication of the population (Scharfenberg 1930; Bartels-Brun 1943; Johansen 1989); Unn Jørstadt, Director of the then Norwegian School for Gypsies concluded her 1972 report entitled "Norway's Gypsy minority" with the observation that "all of them are just like children. One thing is certain: they need help" (1972: 137). An early Swedish commentary on the nature of the Romani language by the Reverend Christfrid Ganander in 1780 claimed that the Gypsy's

... mouth and lips are big, wide and thick, convenient for the pronunciation of their language, which is rather aspirated and full of "schz" or "Sclawoniska" words, which call for a strong aspiration and a lot of spittle before they can be pronounced. Their pronunciation or sounds and voices are peculiar, loud, sharp, rough and harsh, and also demand twitches of the body and gestures with the hands, before they can be articulated.

These are prejudices originating outside of the Romani population; when we examine the Romani vocabulary itself, however, it becomes apparent that practically all of the words for concepts most stereotypically associated with Gypsies were not brought from India at all, but were acquired after reaching the Byzantine Empire — that is, it has been contact with European and other foreign societies which has brought about the Gypsies' contemporary social situation. Thus words for metals such as steel, copper, brass, lead, zinc, tin, the words for nail, pliers, chisel, furnace, bellows, forge, smelt, solder, horseshoe, hammer, file, anvil; and even the words for horse, hoof, donkey, mule, saddle, bridle, bit, reins, whip, waggon, wheel and road, are not Indian, but items acquired before reaching the gates of Europe at the time that five centuries of enslavement of the Romani people were just beginning.

the Tattare is their ultimate origins, and the extent to which they are in fact ethnic Gypsies, if at all. Little has appeared on the linguistic classification of their speech, which has traditionally been viewed merely as a kind of slang consisting of cryptolectal vocabulary of mainly Romani origin in an entirely Scandinavian grammatical matrix.

Such languages have more relevance to linguistic theory, perhaps, than is at once apparent; first of all, they challenge the traditional genetic approach to language classification. Secondly, they provide useful insights into the maintenance of ethnic identity, as well as into contact phenomena and language attrition, both the focus of scholarly interest at the present time. The variety of Romani belonging to this category for which most theoretical work has been undertaken is Angloromani, which originated in England and which has subsequently spread to other parts of the English-speaking world (Hancock, 1986). It is in fact possible that the origins of Scandoromani may also be traced to Britain, in the light of early contact between the British Isles and Scandinavia, although the process yielding each possibly differ.

While Gypsies may have entered Britain from southern Scandinavia in the first place, as the Jutes had done a thousand years before, the first record of their presence in Denmark indicates that they had been transported to that country by James IV of Scotland, in July, 1505. Their arrival in Sweden via Denmark is dated 1512, and they were being abandoned on the coast of Norway from British ships from 1544 onwards. According to Bergman (1964: 13),

... the Scottish and the Swedish Gypsies kept in touch during the 16th century ... in the Swedish National Archives there are two passports for the Tattare, or as he is also called the Egyptian, Anders Faa ... the name Faa is well-known in Scotland, and has been so (among Gypsies) for a long time. John Faa was the name of perhaps the most romantic Gypsy leader in Scotland, and he even had a poem written in his honour by our Swedish poet Orvar Odd.

Bergman (1964: 16) continues:

Nowadays, a distinction is made between *Tattare* and *Zigenare*. This last term is used to refer to descendants of the Gypsies who immigrated in the latter part of the 19th century, mainly between 1860 and 1880, and later. They are bilingual, and speak both a pure European Gypsy dialect, and Swedish ... The term *Tattare* is reserved for a less well-defined group of people who live in the same way as the Gypsies, and who no doubt in certain cases are descendants of Gypsies who have mixed with Swedes, but who otherwise, and probably mainly, are descendants of the loose people from whom have come the (contemporary, non-Gypsy) significant group of loiterers.

Lastly, Bergman says (1964: 22)

Just as the Spanish Gypsies, after having settled down, mixed their language with the Spanish of the lower classes, with the *germania* of the criminals, etc., so the Swedish Gypsies have also mixed their language with Swedish. Today's Tattare speak a mixture (*rotvälska*) in which, to be sure, the basis is old Romani, but where the inflectional system of the Gypsy language has been lost.

the group Romani, so that while Romani elements are discernible in the speech of such peoples as the Jenisch in Germany or Switzerland, for example, or the Quinquis in Spain, other factors, both genetic and cultural, are insufficient either for them to think of themselves as Romani, or for them to be regarded as such by members of coexisting populations who do.

In Scandinavia, as elsewhere in Europe, the Romani populations consist of both first diaspora and second diaspora immigrants. The first European Romani diaspora began in the mid- or late thirteenth century, when the first Roma crossed the Dardanelles into the Balkans and subsequently fanned out into northern and western Europe. Perhaps half of those arriving from Asia Minor at that time, however, were held in slavery in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (Hancock 1987), a situation which was not fully abolished until the middle of the 19th century. The flight of the ex-slaves out of Rumania from the 1860s onwards constituted the second diaspora, and descendants of these Roma, who are usually referred to as the *Vlax* (*Vlach*, *Wallachian*, sometimes also called *Danubian*), have settled everywhere that first-diaspora populations are also found. Because of the very different historical situations distinguishing the two migratory waves, and the resulting linguistic divergence, Vlax and non-Vlax Gypsies today share little social interaction, even when they inhabit the same environment. Vlax Roma in Norway numbered less than one hundred according to Unn Jørstad when she published her report seventeen years ago, a number which has at least tripled since that time; nevertheless pedagogical materials have been produced here to teach literacy in Vlax Romani (e.g., Jansen—Heltveit 1979; Syverud, Heltveit—Gaardner 1979). Such publications in Sweden, with its larger Vlax population, are more numerous, and have been mainly produced by Skolöverstyrelsen in Stockholm. This discussion is concerned not with the Vlax Romani minority in Scandinavia, but with the descendants of the first diaspora, the population generally, though incorrectly, referred to as *Tattare*.

Norbert Boretzky has recently drawn attention to the fact that in the Romani lexicon, the indigenous (i.e., Indic) and the non-indigenous items adhere tenaciously to their respective grammatical paradigms, a characteristic "hardly found in any other language" (1989: 357). While the majority of dialects do indeed retain their basically Indian structure, there are a number of varieties of the language which have survived lexically, but which demonstrate no, or almost no, indigenous grammar and phonology. These include Lomavren, the speech of the Armenian Gypsies (Finck 1903), Caló, spoken in Spain (Tudela 1985), Angloromani in England (Acton—Kenrick 1984; Hancock 1984 a, 1984 b), Hellenoromani in Greece (Triandaphyllidis 1923—24), Tent Gypsy in Yugoslavia (Uhlik 1941—43) and others. This phenomenon is not restricted simply to Romani; such languages as Mbugu (Goodman 1971), and Shelta (Hancock 1984 c) also appear to consist of lexicons couched in the framework of other languages. It is to this category that Scandoromani also belongs.

Documentation on the various Romani populations in Scandinavia is extensive; a selection of references appears in the bibliography following this paper. The question most frequently addressed in connection with

The language of the Swedish Zigenare, as referred to here, has been superbly described by Gjerdman—Ljungberg (1964); while no comparable grammar yet exists for the same language in Norway, that dialect is closely related to the one described for Sweden, and work on a linguistic description of Norwegian Vlax (which is the Lovari rather than the Kalderash or Churari dialect spoken in Sweden) is in progress by Lars Gjerd under the supervision of Dr. Knut Kristiansen at Oslo University's Indo-Iranian Institute. The speech of the Swedish Tattare has been recently dealt with in a book by Johansson (1977), while for the Norwegian situation, Iversen's three volume *Secret languages in Norway* (1944—1950) remains the most comprehensive treatment. I am not dealing with Finland in this paper, but a number of linguistic works describing Fennoromani also exist, e. g., by Valtonen, Thesleff, and others.

While Bergman refers to the "mixing" of the Romani and the white populations, and of their languages, he makes no attempt to explain why such mixing should have taken place. No scholars seem yet to have attempted this from a linguistic perspective, although a number of ethnographic studies have been written such as those by Ethler, Heymowski, Bartels—Brun, Hansen, Takman, etc., which examine the ancestries of the Scandinavian Traveller population.

The parallel situation in Britain has received more attention in this regard, and it is likely that what we have learned about this may equally apply in Scandinavia. There are two principal hypotheses for the British situation: firstly, that contemporary Angloromani is the result of progressive language attrition or decay — a position favored by Romanologist Donald Kenrick, and secondly, that it is a deliberately contrived cryptolect dating from the sixteenth century, this being my own belief. I reject the possibility of language attrition because dying Romani dialects, such as that spoken in Wales today, are not restructuring themselves; Welsh Romani is not slowly becoming Angloromani. Nor, in fact, is Angloromani dying, but appears to be spreading, numerically and geographically. I favor a sixteenth century origin for Angloromani because we have numerous references to a "secret language" in use among the Gypsy population from that time. The fact that no samples of Angloromani occur in print until the nineteenth century attests only to its secret nature, although it has been used to support the attrition hypothesis; but absence of evidence is not evidence of absence; Shelta (cf. Hancock 1984c) remained hidden from the outside world until the nineteenth century.

I will not repeat arguments supporting my position here, since they have appeared in print elsewhere. But to summarize, it would seem that the newly-arrived Roma found themselves thrown into the same social milieu as the British outlaws, and were obliged to interact with them for survival. The British outlaws already had a cryptolect of their own, known as Cant, evidence of which may be found in the still surviving speech of the Scottish Travellers (see Hancock 1986), and, of course, the Roma had Romani as a means of private communication. Cant, which seems to date from the eleventh century, consists of cryptolectal items in

an all-English grammatical and phonological framework. It has been used for poetry in the past, and some words, such as *booze*, *gear*, *hooker*, etc., have passed into general English slang. The Roma were not opposed to allowing Romani items to be incorporated into Cant, and no doubt learnt the speech themselves; but withheld inflected Romani from the non-Gypsy community, in order to be able to maintain their separateness within the larger separate population. The inflected language survived in England until the early twentieth century, and may perhaps still survive; by the mid-nineteenth century, Smart—Crofton were able to transcribe stories from British Gypsies told first in inflected Romani and then in Angloromani. As noted earlier, in Wales it still survives.

The restructured language in Scandinavia appears to exist in several regional dialects; Johbansson discusses two for Sweden, a Northern and a Skånish dialect, the differences between which appear to be mainly lexical. Phonologically and structurally, Scandoromani, or Tattarespråk, approximates almost completely to the Scandinavian host languages in the midst of which it exists. It is in its lexicon that it remains distinctively a Gypsy tongue. As with Angloromani, native morphology has undergone a process of collapse — taking the attritionist argument — or never existed in the first place, if Romani items were inserted into a co-existing Cant. We might still speak of reduction, however. For example, in Angloromani, the first-person personal pronominal forms all derive from the historical prepositional case *mande*, used following various prepositions (e.g., *mandi* 'I, me', *mandi's* 'my', etc.). The Scandoromani forms on the other hand have generalized equivalents based on the possessive singular masculine nominative in the inflected language, viz., *miro*, thus *miro* 'I, me', *miros* 'my', etc. Nearly all other morphology seems to be attributable to vernacular Scandinavian, for example reflecting their three-gender system rather than the two genders of the standard languages. Inflected forms appear to be frozen, e.g., *dakkri* 'mother', a genitive in historical Romani. Derivational morphemes are in the main non-productive, with the exception of the historical genitive, typically used in the inflected northern dialects such as Sinti or Welsh Romani as a means of lexical expansion. Examples from Scandoromani include *däkkaskiro* 'soldier', from *däkka* 'sword', *minnsjeskre* 'gonorrhea', from *minnsja* 'vulva', *bängerske* 'hell', from *bäng* 'devil', *dikkopaskro* 'mirror', from *dikka* 'to see', and so on. Calques on Scandinavian languages also account for some forms. Examples include *sapp-jakkad* 'wicked', literally 'snake-eyed', from *ormøgd*, ditto, or *ali-jakkar* 'spectacles, glasses', literally 'glass-eyes', cf. *glasøgon*, ditto. Other lexical items have been created by a process of incoining, i.e. combining existing morphemes into new lexical combinations. Examples include *krajjo-dikklo* 'flag', literally 'king cloth', *starrto-moëfj* 'policeman', literally 'capture person', *randrar-mossj* 'secretary', literally 'write person', and *båssjar-mossj* 'musician', literally 'play person', *pilo-dukht* 'having a hangover', literally 'drunk-pained', *rubbsmitto* 'silversmith', is an example of a Romani and a Scandinavian derived morpheme in combination. Items from Scandinavian and Scan-

dinavian Cant are also common in Scandoromani, usually in disguised form. Thus *šimmpus* 'five', *dustus* 'flour', *våršnos* 'our', *ersnos* 'your', *alonum* 'alone', (from *fem*, *dust*, *vår*, *er* and *alones*). This can even extend to Indian-derived items, e. g., *jekkum* 'one' (from *jekh*) or *nakkus* 'nose' (from *nakh*).

Following are three sentences in Swedish Scandoromani with their Angloromani, English and Swedish equivalents:

|               |                                                                   |
|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Scandoromani: | <i>miro honkar alonum; mander honkar alonum</i>                   |
| English:      | 'I am alone'                                                      |
| Swedish:      | <i>jug är ensam</i>                                               |
| Angloromani:  | <i>mandi's alonus; mandi's akonyu</i>                             |
| Romani:       | <i>me šom kokoro</i>                                              |
| Scandoromani: | <i>vi tradrar to färon en vaver divus</i>                         |
| English:      | 'we('ll) go to town another day'                                  |
| Swedish:      | <i>vi åker till stan en annan dag</i>                             |
| Angloromani:  | <i>we'll tradder to the forus a wavver divvus</i>                 |
| Romani:       | <i>džasa ka o foros vaver dives</i>                               |
| Scandoromani: | <i>ska vi puttja dälle mossj om han vill suta palla i ratti?</i>  |
| English:      | 'shall we ask that fellow if he'll stay and sleep tonight?'       |
| Swedish:      | <i>ska vi fråga den där karlen om han vill ligga kvar i natt?</i> |
| Angloromani:  | <i>will we putch the mush if he'll atch and suti to-rati?</i>     |
| Romani:       | <i>phučas i muršeste te ačel te sovel akarat?</i>                 |

## Conclusion

The question has arisen whether languages of this type may be said to have undergone processes of pidginization or creolization (discussed in Hancock 1971). Although Arnbjörnsdóttir-Smith (1986) attempt an argument against this in their discussion of Russenorsk, there is in fact no incontrovertibly attested case of the kind of linguistic restructuring typifying these processes which has arisen from the contact of just two languages; nor has what Whinnom called "tertiary hybridization" occurred, i.e., when the speakers of the language supplying the lexicon subsequently withdraw from the contact environment, the pidgin then having to expand using its own internal grammaticalizing and lexicalizing resources rather than drawing upon its lexifier for these components. When two language communities come into contact, speakers of one usually just learn that of the other (e. g., Sami and Norwegian in Norway, Spanish and English in Texas) with cross-interference, but generating no extensive structural or semantic innovations having no outside source. These processes have been discussed by the Scandinavian linguists Jespersen (1922) and Hjelmslev (1939); Reinecke (1937) tabulated at least ten social contexts which can yield contact languages, whether pidginized or not (discussed in Hancock 1990 b), those of the Scandoromani type being most like his category of "foreigners' mixed speech", although he

discusses restructured Romani in particular under the heading "dying minor languages" (Reinecke 1937: 76–79), thereby adhering to the attrition hypothesis.

Scandoromani, like Angloromani and probably other such varieties, does not appear, then, to have evolved in direct descent from historical inflected Romani by a process of linguistic decay, but instead is based upon sociolectal varieties of Scandinavian – Norwegian in Norway, Swedish in Sweden, Danish in Denmark, whose speakers drew upon a (now extinct) coexistent inflected Romani which served as a lexical reservoir for maintaining and enriching it as a cryptolectal register. In light of claims which have been made for both Angloromani and for Caló or Hispanoromani (Hancock 1990a: 96–97), however, regarding the nature of the Romani element in each, this explanation may require elaboration.

Whatever its ultimate origins, in the course of time, Scandoromani came to replace inflected Romani as the ethnic language of the community, we might guess because of increasing intermarriage with non-Gypsies, but surviving because of the continuing identity of the group as Gypsy, and the resulting need for a linguistic means of reinforcing that identity, and to provide a protective insulation from the establishment – in this context functioning as an antilanguage (Halliday 1968). Language maintenance and choice as a factor of ethnic identity is discussed in Le Page–Tabouret-Keller (1985). For these reasons, as long as the Scandoromani population remains a distinct segment of the Scandinavian population, it is likely that their speech will survive in some form also.

### References

- Acton, Thomas (ed.)  
1990 *Language, Blacks and Gypsies* (London: Karia Publications).
- Acton, Thomas – Donald Kenrick (eds.)  
1984 *Romani rokkeripen to-divvus* (London: Romanestan Publications).
- Andersen, Kirsten  
1971 *Sigøynere* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).
- Arnbjørnsdóttir, Birna – C. S. W. Smith  
1986 "Russennorsk." Unpublished paper, Creole Studies Seminar, The University of Texas at Austin.
- Bartels, Erik – G. Brun  
1943 *Gypsies in Denmark* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard).
- Bergman, Gösta  
1964 *Slang och hemlige språk: Rommani* (Stockholm: Prisma Books).
- Bergstrands, Carl-Martin  
1943 *Tattarplagan: Tattarna i svenskt folkliv* (Uppsala: ●).
- Boretzky, Norbert  
1989 "Zum Interferenzverhalten des Romani", *Zeitschrift Phonologie, Sprachwissenschaft, Kommunikationsforschung* 42 (3): 357–374.
- Brynjólfsson, Bjarna – Bjarni  
1987 "Villtir, villtir, villtir: Sigauna i Bretland". *Mannlíf*: 105–120.

- Chatard, J. — M. Bernard  
1959 *Zanko, chef tribal* (Paris: La Colombe).
- Dorpb, N. V.  
1837 *De judske Zigeunere og en rotvelsk Ordbog* (Christiana: Glycerup)  
[republished in 1975 by Rosenkilde & Bagger, Copenhagen].
- Edwards, Vivian — Safder Alladina (eds.)  
1991 *Multilingualism in the British Isles* (London: Longman).
- Ehrenborg, Harald  
1928 "Djos Per Andersson's vocabulary", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 7(2): 7 — 18.
- Etzler, Allan  
1944 *Zigenare och deras avkomlingar in Sverige* (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Vörlag).  
1959 "Svenskt tattarspråk", *Svenska Landsmål och Svenskt Folkliv* 17(3): 130 — 151.
- Finck, Franz Nikolaus  
1907 *Die Sprache der Armenischen Zigeuner* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences).
- Ganander, Christfrid  
1780 *Undersökning om de så kallade Tuttare eller Zigeuner* (Stockholm: Kongl. Svenska Vitterhetsakademien).
- Gjerdman, Olof  
1945 "Tattarna och deras språk", *Svenska Landsmål och Svenskt Folkliv* 3(4): 1 — 55.
- Gjerdman, Olof — Eric Ljungberg  
1963 *The dialect of the Swedish Coppersmith Gypsy Johan Dimitri Talkon* (Uppsala: Lundqvista).
- Goodman, Morris  
1971 "The strange case of Mbugu", in: Dell Hymes (ed.), 243 — 254.
- Grellmann, Heinrich  
1783 *Zigeuner, Stammen aus Hindustan* (Dessau: ●).
- Halliday, M. A. K.  
1969 "Antilanguages", *Language and social structure*. Chapter 9, 164 — 182.
- Hancock, Ian  
1971 "Is Angloromani a creole?", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series, 49(1): 41 — 44.  
1984 a "The social and linguistic development of Angloromani", in: Thomas Acton — Donald Kenrick (eds.), 89 — 122.  
1984 b "Romani and Angloromani", in: Peter Trudgill (ed.), 367 — 383.  
1984 c "Shelta and Polari", in: Peter Trudgill (ed.), 384 — 403.  
1986 "The cryptolectal speech of the American roads: Traveler Cant and Angloromani", *American Speech* 61(3): 206 — 220.  
1988 "The development of Romani linguistics", in: Mohammed Jazayery — Werner Winter (eds.), 183 — 223.  
1990 a "The Romani speech community", in: Vivian Edwards — Safder Alladina (eds.), 89 — 106.  
1990 b "Creolization and language change", in: Edgar C. Polomé (ed.), 507 — 525.
- Hansen, H ● P ●  
1917 Chapter entitled *[Festskrift til Evald Kristensen]* "Kjaeltringsproget", 70 — 94.  
1952 *Jyske skøyer og rakkere* (Copenhagen: Hansens Bogtrykkeri).

- Haugen, Einar  
1949 "A note on the Romany 'language'", *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 7: 388–391.
- Heymowski, Adam  
1987 "Resende eller 'Tattare': En gammel minoritet på väg att försvinna", in: Ingvar Svanberg (ed.), 13–22.
- Higgie, Brenda Boerger  
1984 A reconstruction of Proto-Western-Romani. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Linguistics, The University of Texas at Austin.
- Hjelmslev, Louis  
1939 "Études sur la notion de parenté linguistique: Relations de parenté des langues créoles", *Revue des Études Indo-Européennes* 2: 271–286.
- Hymes, Dell (ed.)  
1971 *Pidginization and creolization of languages* (Cambridge: ●).
- Huttunen, Kari  
1972 *Raportti suomen mustalaisista* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus Publishers).  
1976 *Gypsies in Finland, past and present* (Helsinki: Privately-circulated monograph).
- Iversen, Ragnvald  
1944 *The secret languages in Norway: Vol. 1, Romany* (Oslo: Dybwad).  
1945 *The secret languages in Norway: Vol. 2, Rotwelsch* (Oslo: Dybwad).  
1950 *The secret languages in Norway: Vol. 3, Mansing* (Oslo: Dybwad).
- Jansen, R● – B● L. Heltveit  
1979 *Gadi i rukli kaj bušol Mimi* (Oslo: Undesensningen av Fremmedspråklige Elever, Oslo Kommune-Skolesefjen).
- Jazayery Mohammed – Werner Winter (eds.)  
1988 *Papers in honor of Edgar C. Polomé* (Berlin – New York: Mouton).
- Jespersen, Otto  
1922 *Language, its nature, development and origin* (London: George Allen & Unwin).
- Johansen, Jahn O.  
1989 *Sigøyneres holocaust* (Oslo: Cappelen).
- Johansson, Roger  
1977 *Svenskt Rommani* (Uppsala: Acta Acad. Reg. Gustavi Adolphi LV).
- Jørstad, Unn  
1972 "Norway's Gypsy minority", *American Scandinavian Review* 58(2): 129–137.
- Kumm, Evert  
1965 *Zigenare och vanlige Svenskar* (Örebro: Quintus Tryckeri).
- Leland, Charles G.  
1882 *The Gypsies* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co.).
- Le Page, Robert B. – Andrée Tabouret-Keller  
1985 *Acts of identity* (Cambridge University Press).
- Miskow, Johan  
1904 "Rejsende", *Danske Studier* 129–140.  
1909 "Mere om Romanier og Rejsende", *Danske Studier* 104–108.
- Miskow, Johan – V● Brøndal  
1923 "Sigøynersprog i Danmark", *Danske Studier* 99–145.

- Nyrop, K.  
1914 "Natmaendene og deres sprog", *Politiken*, January 1st, 4, 6, 8.
- Polomé, Edgar C. (ed.)  
1990 *Research guide on language change* (Berlin—New York: Mouton de Gruyter).
- Refsum, Helge  
1945 "Taternal i Norge", *Maal og Minne*, 1/2: 83—92.
- Reinecke, John  
1937 *Marginal languages: A sociological survey of the creole languages and trade jargons* (Yale University: Doctoral dissertation, available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, order number 68—546).
- Ribsskog, Øyvin  
1941 "Sjargon, forbryter språk og rommani", *Maal og Minne*, ●
- Rishi, Weer Rajendra  
1975 *Roma: The Punjabi emigrants in Europe, Central and Middle Asia, the USSR and the Americas* (Patiala: The Punjab Press).
- Sampson, John  
1926 *The dialect of the Gypsies of Wales* (Oxford University Press).
- Scharfenberg, J.  
1930 "Omstreiferondet", *Arbeiderbladet*, October 31st, and November 11th, 19th, 24th and 25th.
- Scherp, Lambert—K. ● Wiming  
1980 *Min bok om Zigenara* (Stockholm: Skolöverstyrelsen).
- Smart, B. ● C.—H. ● T. Crofton  
1875 *The dialect of the English Gypsies* (London: Asher & Co.).
- Smith, Hubert  
1873 *Tent life with English Gypsies in Norway* (London: King & Co.).
- Sundt, Eilert  
1852 *Beretning om Fante eller landstrygerfolket i Norge* (Christiana: ●).
- Sutherland, Anne  
1975 *Gypsies, the hidden Americans* (London: Macmillan).
- Svanberg, Ingvar (ed.)  
1987 *I samhällats utkanter om 'Tattare' i Sverige* (Uppsala Multiethnic Papers, No. 11). ●: ●.
- Syverud, A.-M. B. L. Heltveit & Jan Gaardner  
1979 *Me ginavav Romanes*, Parts I & II (Oslo: Undesnisnigen av Fremmedspråklige Elever, Oslo Kommune-Skolesjefen).
- Takman, John  
1976 *The Gypsies in Sweden* (Stockholm: Liber Vörlag).
- Thesleff, Arthur  
1901 *Wörterbuch des Dialekts der finnländischen Zigeuner* (Helsinki: Drukerei der Finnischen Literatur-Gesellschaft).
- Triandaphyllidis, M. A.  
1923—24 "Eine zigeunerisch-griechische Geheimsprache", *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 52: 1—42.
- Trudgill, Peter (ed.)  
1984 ● ● ●
- Tfudela, Jean-Louis  
1985 *Trejini e Calò: Cours de Calò* (Montferrand: Chez l'auteur).

Uhlir, Rade

1941--43 "Bosnian Romani", *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, 3rd series,  
20: 100--141, 21: 24--55, 22: 110--141.

Valtonen, Pertti

1972 *Suomen Mustalaikielen etymologinen sanakirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura).

Watson, Francis

1981 *A concise history of India* (London: Thames & Hudson).

Whinnom, Keith

1971 "Linguistic hybridization and the 'special case' of pidgins and creoles", in: Dell Hymes (ed.), 91--115.

UWI Libraries